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JAMES FREDERICK BOYDELL.
STAMFORD HEARN ROCHE.
HENRY J. CAMPBELL, *General Manager.*

AUDITORS :
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 46 Dame Street.

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 31st day of July 1939.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1939, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£35,774	14	1
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	30,354	8	10
	£66,129	2	11
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz. :—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	27,500	0	0
To next Account	28,629	2	11
	£66,129	2	11

The Reserve Fund now stands at £740,000.

In March last Mr. ALFRED TENISON COLLINS and MR. PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY, owing to reasons of health, felt themselves compelled to retire from the Board. These resignations and the death of MR. CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR in April last were matters of deep regret to the Directors.

MR. THOMAS VINCENT MURPHY, MR. JAMES FREDERICK BOYDELL and MR. STAMFORD HEARN ROCHE have been co-opted to fill the vacancies on the Board.

By Order of the Board,

HENRY J. CAMPBELL,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 17*th July*, 1939.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. **BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1939.**

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,085,135	4	11
,, Reserve Fund	740,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz. :—			
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0				War Loan, National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per Contra)	4,668,647	6	0
Less : Held by the Bank ... 45,682 0 0	504,318	0	0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	242,254	5	7
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,391,605	10	5		5,996,036	16	6
,, Sundry Agents	95,291	17	10	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,129,594	7	3
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	4,715	9	1	,, Sundry Agents	5,558	18	9
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £66,129 2 11				,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	160,869	17	9
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	56,129	2	11				
	£12,292,060	0	3		£12,292,060	0	3

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1939.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	117,135	6	3	By Balance from last Account ...	30,354	8	10
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	152,910	0	4
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1939, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 27,500 0 0							
,, Balance to next Acct. 28,629 2 11	56,129	2	11				
	£183,264	9	2		£183,264	9	2

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1939, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

DUBLIN, 17th July, 1939.

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VOL. XXVIII No. 111

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An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1939

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NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION

BY SENATOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

THE words "nation," "nationalism," and "nationalist" have been familiar in Ireland for so long that the average Irishman almost thinks the last of them to be synonymous with "Irish." We know that the Great War of 1914-18 was fought in part to vindicate the rights of small nationalities (among which our own was not included), and Arthur Griffith's *Resurrection of Hungary* had presented us ten years earlier with a rather illusory parallel to Ireland from the other side of Europe. In spite of all this, our natural reaction, when we read denunciations of the ravages caused by nationalism in the Near or Far East, is to feel that in some vague way anti-Irish, or at the very least pro-English, propaganda is at work. The latter alternative is of course generally the true one, and here we are in presence of a second paradox. In no country nowadays is nationalism so freely denounced or so generally detested as in England; and yet a very good case can be made for the view that nationalism is a condition or state of mind or principle which first grew strong in English soil and has from there spread over all the world.

Industrialism, parliamentary democracy, and nationalism are probably the three most powerful of the revolutionary forces set going in the century between 1750 and 1850. They seemed to have won a final victory over all opponents at the Treaty of Versailles, but the intervening period has brought a strange reversal, and none of the three is nowadays as universally accepted as it was by the last generation. Their fates have been curiously different, for during the last twenty years industrialism and democracy have been set up as enemies against the nationalism which for so long went with them hand in hand. Quite recently there has become visible a tendency to present the first two as innocent but rather

decrepit victims which the third, now become a fierce ogre, is seeking to devour. This method of presentation is intelligible in view of temporary circumstances, but it is entirely unhistorical, for the three sprang from the same causes, and the ideas and doctrines which propagated them are inseparably linked together. Although the importance of what has been called "the principle of nationality" is recognised in every text-book of European nineteenth-century history, it is remarkable how seldom it has been studied for itself and its manifestations in different countries interrelated. A recent very readable and complete work[1] by a French historian goes a long way to fill this want as far at least as the nineteenth century is concerned.

What is needed most of all in the study of so far-reaching and violent a movement as the growth of modern nationalism is objectivity, and this the author of *L'Europe du XIX^e^ Siècle et l'Idée de Nationalité* has attained to a really admirable degree. Appearing as it does in a series intended as a vast synthesis of universal history, M. Weill's book has inevitable limitations: it must necessarily be brief, passing over many phases of its subject with only a few words; and its scope is narrowed so as to exclude the Great War and its aftermath, so that we learn nothing from it about the recent impact of nationalism on non-European peoples. The first criticism, however, is really no more than a rather ungracious expression of gratitude for the amount that is given to us, and M. Weill possesses to the full the French gifts of clarity and order, so that very little escapes from falling into its predestined place in his unhurried and harmonious pages. As to the second criticism it may be said that the influence of nationalism on communities remote from Europe has already been as immense as that of the other two European revolutionary forces, industrialism and democracy. It could easily be given a book to itself, and we can see from what is happening before our eyes from Palestine to China that it is only just beginning its work of secular upheaval.

[1] *L'Europe du XIX^e^ Siècle et l'Idée de Nationalité.* Par Georges Weill. (Évolution de l'Humanité, No. 84). Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 45 fr.

In this book the origin of the nationalist movement which has so largely transformed Europe is sought among the consequences of the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon. There can be no doubt that these were the chief proximate causes, but it would have been useful, had there been more space, to go still further back. The French Revolution was itself obviously a highly complex affair both internally and in its effects on Europe, which received the full force of the blow while it was still far behind France in its historical development. It would be possible to diagnose nationalism as a phenomenon which made its earliest appearance in the countries bordering on and just outside the medieval Holy Roman Empire. During the middle ages England and France both succeeded, the latter with some difficulty, in detaching themselves from the European structure, which for all its ramshackle character had an essential unity. Already in the fourteenth century we can see a rudimentary nationalism emerging from the clash between England and Scotland, not to speak of Ireland where a decentralised native polity made it less prominent. In the fifteenth the great struggle of the Hundred Years' War awoke the French people to a new self-consciousness, and it is not without reason that even today the Maid of Orleans is a symbol of France in arms. On the English side there appeared simultaneously many signs of the future. The English language supplanted Norman-French; English, Welsh, Scots and Irish troops fought together under Henry V; and the merchant-class, forerunner of the capitalist bourgeoisie, began to learn its own strength.

What finally brought this incipient nationalism to full stature was the great religious collapse in the next century. Though already England had shown signs of religious particularism, the feebleness of the Holy Roman Empire had been offset by the spiritual unity which the Church—often with difficulty—had succeeded in maintaining. Now the revolution in religion joined with the other forces already in existence, the Crown and the rising commercial middle class, to establish in England what amounted to a new civilisation; and this

civilisation was henceforth a close-knit independent structure, having mainly hostile contacts with the outside world. Internally it underwent a series of further violent changes, in which the Crown, having once used the middle class against the feudal aristocracy, became in its turn a victim to its ally, and the Church, no longer deriving its strength from its universal fountainhead, split up into an ever-increasing number of mutually hostile sects. This internal revolution was complete by 1690, and it is very significant that the first recorded use of the word "nationality" occurs in the next year. The theorists who supplied a rationalist framework for the revolution, especially Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, became the teachers of the French *philosophes* who afterwards held up English institutions as the supreme ideal to their own people. It is noteworthy, too, that the antiquarianism, which became so characteristic of nineteenth-century national movements everywhere, made its first appearance in the Anglo-Saxon studies of men like Archbishop Parker while the English revolution was in progress. It was not to be the last time that models for contemporary aberrations were sought for in a legendary past.

In France the monarchy had succeeded, while avoiding a religious break with the rest of Europe, in converting the feudal nobility into a body of subservient courtiers, and had at the same time encouraged the growth of a trading middle class. Feudalism was in one sense the secular counterpart of the Church, and its destruction necessarily implied a partial break in the unity of Europe. During the seventeenth century, France was thus developing its own type of nationalism, which found its greatest exemplar in Richelieu, and its growth was of course a disaster to the Empire, already terribly divided by the wars of religion. England and France both rose to power on the ruin of Europe, and the great instrument used by both was already the force of national sentiment among their own people. Under Louis XIV, France was the more powerful, and her influence was predominant over England, then undergoing its last revolutionary phase. With the completion of the process in 1690 the balance

began slowly to fall on the other side, and what is most remarkable about eighteenth-century France is the influence exercised over men like Montesquieu, Voltaire and their associates by English political and philosophical ideas and institutions. From one point of view, the Revolution of 1789 may be best explained as an attempt, which went too far, to bring France into line with liberal and free-thinking England. Out of the attempt came the self-conscious and militant French nation ; and the subsequent history of Europe has been in large part the struggle of other European peoples to catch up with England and France in the race for national integration and national glory.

The revolutionary and Napoleonic wars gave the last blow to the already crumbling European structure, weakened both by the religious wars and by the continued aggressions of the French monarchy. It is customary to speak of the fall of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 as if it was an event of minor significance ; and indeed the Empire had ceased since the time of Frederick the Great to be very much more than a name. Yet its total disappearance from the face of Europe did most decisively mark the end of the ancient tradition of European unity which had enabled many peoples of the most varied origin, history, and culture to live together in a single allegiance and to a great degree, at least in its best days, with a single religious faith. With it there went the medieval conception of a Great Society, the survival of which into our own world might have been infinitely precious for civilisation and the lack of which threatens to bring the world, rather because than in spite of its immense technical resources, down into primitive barbarism. The real importance of Napoleon was that he for a time seemed likely to establish a new unity of Europe on the ruins of the old and to give the new society an organisation and institutions more fitted for its needs. He was brought down partly by his own militarism and megalomania, but far more by the unholy alliance against him of the old nationalism of England, the new nationalism of Germany and the oriental autocracy of the Czars. English text-books still depict him, just as did

contemporary English cartoonists and journalists, as a scarcely human, semi-monstrous portent, essentially evil, and his downfall as a victory for freedom and justice. In reality he was the last of the supermen, akin to Alexander, Caesar, Constantine, and Charlemagne, and his defeat was a tragedy not only in the personal sense but still more for the embryonic new world which it left powerless to be born.

What gave the tragedy its essential quality was of course the fact that the very forces which rose up in Europe against Napoleon were, in part at least, forces to which the Revolution had given birth and which he had himself helped to introduce to countries outside France. It was in the early days of the Revolution that the term "nation," long in use in England, became common in French politics. Curiously enough the word *nationalité* only appears in a French dictionary for the first time in 1823, and is then marked as a neologism, while the word *nationalisme* was popularised only by the writings of Maurice Barrès at the end of the century. In Germany the idea of the *Volk* had been widely propagated before the Revolution by Herder, who was deeply influenced by Rousseau. At the very beginning, however, a contrast made itself noticeable between French and German nationalism—a contrast, it may be said, already to be found in Rousseau's own mixture of the rational and the emotional. To the French and all who learned from them, nationality was based on the rights of man and the free contract, real or fictitious, of the primitive members of a community. To the Germans, whose ideas were strongly tinged with romanticism, the essence of nationality was tradition, history, the life of a race on its ancestral soil. In this the German fathers of the movement were merely going back from the rationalist French stream to its English fountain-head; and as is well known, one of the chief inspirations of German writers in the early nineteenth century was the teaching of Edmund Burke, champion of the English Whig tradition which took the revolution of 1688 as its starting point.

German nationalism reached a feverish pitch of intensity before and during the *Befreiungskrieg*, the war of liberation

against Napoleon. It was in this period that the word *Volkstum* was coined by the famous F. L. Jahn, the *Turnvater*, who first linked up the idea of nationality with the practice of gymnastics. Jahn was typical in his extremism of much in the whole history of national movements. In his devotion to the past he advocated the rejection of gunpowder and the adoption of the traditional weapons, sword, spear, and axe. He dressed in a style which he called "*Altdeutsch*" and wrote in a language so pure of foreign words as to be often unintelligible. The word *Volkstum* was a product of this linguistic purism, as was the word *turnen*, although the latter is just as foreign as *turnieren* for which it became a substitute. In many other respects the German movement, which was partly provoked by and partly directed against Napoleon, was to remain the model consciously or unconsciously followed in every country where the powerful contagion of nationalism afterwards made itself felt. A very interesting example of this universal and homogeneous feature in the convulsions which shook nineteenth-century Europe and are shaking a far wider world in our own day is the rather minor detail that in numerous cases the most extreme and violent propagators of the nationalist idea have not themselves been by birth or sometimes even by upbringing members of the community in which they propagated it. Such men in Germany were Arndt in the first half and Treitschke in the second half of the century, not to mention Houston Stewart Chamberlain, to whom present-day German nationalism owes so much. Irishmen will easily be able to point to many parallels to these in their own history; indeed the great peculiarity of Ireland has been that probably the majority of its nationalist leaders and thinkers have been of non-Irish origin.

The great success of the movement was due to the fact that everywhere it supervened upon an interlude of comparative uncertainty, a "Time of Troubles" in Professor Arnold Toynbee's phrase, in which an old order of society was in process of disappearance, thus temporarily creating a vacuum which there was for the time being nothing else

ready to fill. This is most obvious in the case of central Europe, where the collapse of the Empire had shattered the whole framework of civilisation, and where the efforts of " reactionaries " like Metternich to hold back the nationalist flood were merely so many more or less despairing attempts to go on living among the ruins. The struggle in central Europe added new elements to the ingredients already provided from French and German sources, for Panslavism was born in the marchlands under Prussian and Austrian rule. At first it seemed to find a mighty ally in Russia, which owing to its entirely different structure had survived intact the first revolutionary upheaval. Its entrance here was partly through Poland, which had a double rôle as a real historical entity, justly struggling against the most frightful oppression, and as the most Eastward outpost on the continent of French ideas. Russia in turn became a prototype of all the non-European systems which were later to be overrun by the nationalist tide. It had its own ancient social structure and civilisation, but these were gradually broken down by the impact of Western industrialism, and into the breach thus created the twin ideas of nationalism and democracy made their way. Exactly the same process has been repeating itself in the Mohammedan world and in the great civilisation of China. Evidence is not lacking towards the possibility of concluding that communism, historically speaking, is no more than a special phase of industrialism, and that everywhere the ultimate victory may yet remain with the nationalist idea. What must once more be emphasised is that, in spite of temporary appearances, the three Western forces are fundamentally akin.

It would be a mistake to insist overmuch, as M. Weill perhaps tends to do, on the contrast between French and German ingredients in the nationalist explosive. In reality they did not work separately but in combination, and their ultimate incompatibility only made their work more effective. A truer view of the whole world-wide process would be that every nation or national group added elements of its own to the original Franco-British mixture. The German element

was provided by the romanticism already endemic beyond the Rhine before the French Revolution began. Ireland may here perhaps claim to have made her own indirect contribution; for there can be no doubt that the medieval Irish saga or legend of the Fianna, conveyed through the singularly distorting medium of Macpherson's *Ossian*, was one of the agencies which brought German romanticism to life. In Germany there also developed a kind of mystical militarism, half-Protestant, half-pagan, inspired at once by Luther, the defeat of Varus, and the fierceness of the old Nordic mythology. This strange compound is already fully at work in the poets of the Napoleonic period, men like Körner, Kleist, and Arndt, and even at the very beginning it produced many absurdities, though M. Weill is exaggerating[1] when he makes Arndt declare that "God sings *lieder* in Heaven." In the Slav lands the new ingredient was also antiquarian and religious. Here it led to the realisation that all the Slav languages had a common origin and to the creation of new literatures, largely inspired by French, in dialects which heretofore had never known literary cultivation. Each Slav people had its own special contribution to make. Poland produced the religion of patriotism, exemplified in the work of Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) with his very famous *Book of the Polish Pilgrims*, translated into French by Montalembert, which glorified the *émigrés* whose flight from their country was to lead to its resurrection from the dead and would bring them eternal life. The same combination of nationalism with Catholicism recurs in our own day in the doctrine of a distinguished Polish philosopher, Wincenty Lutoslawski, whom M. Weill does not mention. In Bohemia, inspiration was sought, on the other hand, in the far-off heresy of Hus and in the later teaching of the Moravian Brotherhood. The Southern Slavs had less to fall

[1] Arndt's famous verse: "So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt
Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt
Das soll es sein, das soll es sein
Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein,"
is surely open to a milder interpretation than M. Weill gives it (p. 9): "aussi loin que retentit la langue allemande et que Dieu chante des *lieds* dans le ciel." The misunderstanding is, I believe, well-known among German children.

back upon in the way of history or literature, but they had their epic poetry and the stimulus of a long struggle against the Turks on one side and the Hungarians on the other.

Readers of M. Weill's book will find there a very full account of the origin and growth of nationalism in the scattered communities of Slavs as well as in Hungary, the Balkans, and Italy, in each of which, while taking different forms, it presented consistently the same features. Its effects were naturally different in countries like Poland, Italy, and Hungary, which had long been the seats of distinctive local cultures and which possessed a historic title to unity, from what they were further to the East. In Russia it may well be that nationalism is only now making itself felt in its full force under the impetus of the Bolshevik dictatorship, to which may later on be assigned the same rôle as was filled by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire in the West. We can already see the beginnings of such a process in the Ukraine, for example. The Balkan countries have already passed through a long fever of nationalism, and their peculiar conditions have provided Europe with a proverbial expression to designate the chaos that follows its introduction into political societies ill-suited for its reception. Almost more than Austria, the old Turkish Empire, succeeding as it did to a universal State of a highly complicated type, was a medley of races, religions, languages, and historical traditions which no ingenuity could sort out into a set of reasonably-distributed components. In both countries the exasperation caused by this intractability only heightened the nationalist fervour of their various peoples and made the problem of their ultimate destiny more insoluble. The cultural gains implied by the rise to literary status of many valuable languages hitherto neglected, and by the recovery of knowledge long overlooked regarding the history and popular traditions of half-forgotten peoples, have been more than offset by the political unrest which these gains inevitably brought along with them.

Hungary is the classic example of the Nemesis that follows on excessive nationalism. After it had been defeated under

Kossuth and Georgei by the unnatural combination against it of the Habsburg dynasty and the Slavs in 1849, its new leaders, Deak, Andrassy, and Eötvös, secured for it in 1867 equal status with German Austria in a reformed Dual Monarchy. There ensued a period of great prosperity during which all the hopes and ambitions of an earlier nationalist generation appeared to have reached complete fulfilment. Unfortunately Hungary could not afford to be merely a nation. Within her historic borders, made sacred to her by a splendid tradition, she had large alien minorities, Rumanians and Slavs, who possessed no historic claim to nationhood as she herself did, but who were stirred by the same instinct of nationalism towards union with their newly-liberated kindred outside. As long as Deak lived, these minorities were treated with fairness. His successor, however, was an "energetic and obstinate Calvinist," Koloman Tisza, who was followed after some years by his like-minded son, Stephen. Under the repressive government of the Tiszas and their associates, the way was thoroughly prepared for the disasters which befel Hungary after the Great War, and from which she is still struggling, with but slender hope, to right herself. While we cannot but sympathise with a great people whom Arthur Griffith held up as a model for Irish emulation, we also cannot fail to recognise that the lessons to be learned from Hungary are not all positive. It teaches us as well the negative side of nationalism, the dangers involved in what a French traveller in the Balkans once called the *morbus ethnographicus*, and the curse that may fall on nations as on individuals from the thoughtless and excessive indulgence of the very qualities in which they take most pride.

After the middle of the nineteenth century the romanticism which had played so great a part in the first nationalist movements everywhere was joined by another force whose tendencies were almost entirely evil. This force was "science" in its peculiar nineteenth-century form. Its arrival was heralded by the earliest studies in the history of language and in systematic ethnology. Just after the

middle of the century Count Gobineau, a French nobleman in poor circumstances, produced his fantastic work, inspired by the desire to defend the aristocratic principle, *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines.* Through its very ungratefully acknowledged influence on the Anglo-German Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* appeared in 1899, Gobineau's book became the parent of present-day German racialism. This was far from being the sole aberration to which "science" gave rise. There was also a French "scientific" school of political thinkers, largely inspired by Darwin, whose fantasies were, if anything, more absurd than Gobineau's but were less harmful just because of their absurdity. The most distinguished of these was Taine; probably the most fatuous was Vacher de Lapouge, who in 1887 announced that "the struggle for life between brachycephalic and dolichocephalic men is the key to history." It is interesting to observe that in this diagnosis the pacific, submissive, and laborious brachycephalic man is normally a Catholic, while the conquering and adventurous dolichocephalic is a Protestant. "I am convinced," said this exponent of modern science, "that in the coming century millions of throats will be cut for one or two degrees above or below the cephalic index." Unfortunately such prophecies, in an age of sensational journalism, have a way of helping in their own fulfilment.

Nationalism has always been marked by many fallacies, and among these perhaps the strangest are two: that it is essentially a popular movement and that it has for its effect the revival and intensification of native culture wherever it has developed. Its popular character is an illusion derived from its origin in liberal France and romantic Germany. The truth is that it has everywhere spread only through the urban middle-class, and in this it obeys a much more fundamental law than the theories of romanticism, for its far-off beginnings coincide with the rise to power of the middle class in England and later in France. Before it could get a hold anywhere it had to have a *bourgeoisie* ready to receive it, and here we find one of the links that bind it closely

to industrialism as well as to democracy. In all countries, notwithstanding superficial appearances and romantic propaganda, the peasantry and the rural aristocracy remained impervious to it for more than a generation. M. Weill gives us in this regard a very apt quotation from a pamphlet written by D'Azeglio in 1849 against Mazzini. "Popular political knowledge," said this famous preacher of nationalism, "that is to say the knowledge of the masses, of 90% of the population, was limited until the other day to the fact that there were on the one side a Pope and princes, on the other side Austria, a sort of mysterious power whose hand was everywhere hidden and yet everywhere felt, a kind of *Deus ex machina* . . . Of Italy, of nationality, of independence, there was no question." This statement could easily be paralleled by complaints of a similar character from other countries; and the reason did not lie in defective education, which is merely a question-begging phrase, but in the very nature of the historical process.

In the same way, the victory of nationalism has not been accompanied by a universal revival of native culture any more than by the universal brotherhood for which the earliest dreamers hoped. What has penetrated and triumphed everywhere along with nationalism has in reality been the urban and puritanical mentality of middle-class England. Instead of vital differentiation there has taken place the levelling of all economic and cultural life to the bourgeois standard; and in spite of romantic aspirations, the hostility to tradition characteristic of the revolutionary spirit has prevailed over antiquarianism and poetry alike. English and French sympathy for nationalism was notorious during the nineteenth century. Its historic basis was unwittingly revealed in a famous dispatch of Lord John Russell to the English Minister at Turin in 1860, when he justified Piedmontese intervention in Naples by citing the precedent of William of Orange and his invasion of England. A quarter of a century later, the outburst of socalled "Imperialism" which led up to the Boer War, and of which Joseph Chamberlain was the loud-voiced and arrogant spokesman, was merely the return to its English

home of an originally English product. In essence the whole movement has remained a continuous revolt against the ancient unity of Europe, nor is its constant tendency towards hostility to Christianity an accident in this regard. For the old precarious and uncertain unity, which permitted of endless local variety, it has substituted a mechanical, material uniformity, while intensifying to an unbearable degree the hostilities it at first proposed to transcend. This disastrous outcome of a century-long convulsion is equally manifest both in the external relations of national States and in their internal constitutions; for centralisation and State-worship are rendered inevitable by the Darwinian struggle for existence of the new racial monstrosities with which the world has been filled. The future is dark with the threat of interminable conflicts brought on by a series of false doctrines, among which the principle of nationality has proved one of the most formidable.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

AN OUTLOOK ON IRISH AGRICULTURE

BY SENATOR JOSEPH JOHNSTON, F.T.C.D.

Part II

ACCORDING to a Table contained on page 452 of the Banking Commission's Majority Report (Appendix No. 7), the aggregate money income of all persons occupied in agriculture was as follows in the years shown (54·5 standing for £54,500,000 and so for the other figures).

1926	1929	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
—	54·5	47·7	38·8	33·3	32·3	36·3	—	—	—
Revised figures :—									
50	52	42	34	29	30	34	39	38	41

The revised figures, based on fuller and more recent information, have been supplied by Professor Duncan, who was a member of the Banking Commission and the author of Appendix No. 7 to the Report.

Rates on agricultural land and buildings, which fell to be paid out of this income, amounted in 1930–1931 to £3,077,454 in the "Rural Districts." In 1932-1933 they were reduced (by various financial adjustments) to £2,055,833, but had risen to £2,906,925 in 1936–1937—and the present tendency is upward. Land purchase annuities "accrued due," in 1930–1931, to the amount of £3,341,000 and £3,309,000 were actually collected. Purchase, maintenance, repair of tools and machinery, and blacksmith's charges may be estimated to have cost £1,500,000 in 1926–1927. In addition there was the cost of medical and veterinary service, the cost of travel, and in some cases the cost of education of children. Taking one year with another, these expenses may have added up to about £8 millions on the average. That portion of agricultural income was, therefore, not available for the purchase of industrial (consumers') goods

by the farmer, whether the goods were of native manufacture or otherwise. Deducting a level £8 millions in each year from the revised figures, we get as

AGRICULTURAL INCOME AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE OF INDUSTRIAL GOODS

1926	1929	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
42	44	34	26	21	22	26	31	30	33

The gross output (*i.e.*, net selling value), at factory, of industrial goods was

1926	1929	1931	1936
£59,477,000	£64,139,000	£54,884,000	£81,213,000

These figures include a certain amount of duplication both within industry and as between agriculture and industry. Duplication "within industry" amounted to £9,800,000 in 1936, and the gross output of industry included in that year £14,300,000 worth of native agricultural and fishing products "processed." Deducting on these heads £18,000,000 from the gross output of industry in 1929, we get £46,139,000, and deducting £24,100,000 in 1936, we get £57,113,000 as the adjusted value of gross output of industry. Agricultural income available for the purchase of industrial goods was £44,000,000 in 1929 and was nearly enough for the purchase of the £46,139,000 worth of industrial goods if they could have been obtained at factory prices. Actually the costs of wholesale and retail distribution must have added from 30 to 50 per cent. to the price at which they were obtainable by agricultural producers or other ultimate users. Even in 1929, if there had been no export of industrial goods and if agriculturists had spent no money on imported industrial goods, it would have been impossible for these, with their relatively high income in that year, to absorb the whole output of native industry. Exports of domestic industrial products were in 1929 about £8 millions and in 1936 less than £5 millions.

In 1936 the adjusted value of native industrial output was just over £57 millions and agricultural income available for expenditure on industrial goods was £31,000,000. The prices of industrial goods were much higher per unit in 1936

than in 1929, and it is quite certain that agriculturists in the later year, with about one-third less money to spend, had to cut down their total purchases of native *and* foreign industrial goods by much more than one-third in volume. Allowing for the difference between factory and retail prices, they could not have bought in 1936 much more than one-third of the output of native industrial goods, even if they had spent no money on any imported industrial goods.

Since agricultural income available for expenditure on industrial goods fell from £44 millions in 1929 to £31 millions in 1936, while the "adjusted value" of industrial output rose from £46 millions in 1929 to £57 millions in 1936, it seems obvious that the recent remarkable expansion in industrial production is based less than ever on commerce between country and town, but represents in a major degree a production and exchange of non-agricultural goods by townsmen for consumption by townsmen. The countryman as such has no part or lot in the new prosperity. His function is to gaze on it with sheepish admiration and, like the sheep, to be fleeced regularly.

Another aspect of the same phenomenon is that, whereas total home-produced income fell from £149·4 millions in 1929 to £135·9 millions in 1935, income from industry increased from £30·5 millions to £35·1 millions. Agricultural income, which was well over a third of home produced income in 1929, was not much more than one quarter in 1935.

Fallacy of "Increasing Home Market" by mere Distribution of a Declining Population

Industry, with the acquiescence of a complacent agricultural community, can expand by the process of "taking in each other's washing"; but agriculture, producing goods for which the demand is readily satiated, finds it impossible to expand by similar methods. It is generally believed that the recent industrial expansion has expanded the home market for native agricultural produce. That the expansion

has hitherto been very moderate in degree is clear from the following figures.

AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT CONSUMED BY NON-AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

1929–30	1934–35	1935–36	1936–37
£13,368,000	£12,136,000	£13,110,000	£14,353,000

Such expansion as has taken place has only been rendered possible by the production of wheat and sugar from beet for domestic consumption at considerable expense to taxpayers and consumers. These two items alone account for over £2⅓ millions in the £14,350,000 consumed by the non-agricultural home market in 1936–37. Apart from these, the "home market" absorbed less in value of the farmer's produce in 1936–37 than in 1929–30.

The total market for our agricultural produce falls into three sections: (1) consumed by agricultural community (not necessarily on the farm where produced), (2) consumed by non-agricultural community, (3) exported.

An increase in total population would, if a given standard of living were maintained, increase the home market under heads (1) and (2) and thus the total market, if exports showed no diminution. An increase in the general standard of living would have a similar effect subject to a similar qualification. In actual fact there has been no increase in the total population in recent years; while the standard of living, though in the towns it has undoubtedly tended upwards, has declined in the much more numerous rural population. On the other hand, there has been a substantial increase in the proportion of urban to total population and a very considerable transfer of workers from agricultural or domestic to industrial occupations. The transfer of a person from a rural home to an urban occupation doubtless alters his pattern of consumption, but is more likely to diminish than increase his total consumption of Irish agricultural produce.

Consequently, the kind of redistribution of a declining population that has been taking place *cannot possibly increase* and may well have diminished the *total home market* for

Irish farm produce. For example, according to official calculations the 1,800,000 persons who constituted the " agricultural community " in 1926 consumed each 312 eggs per annum, while the 1,160,000 persons in the non-agricultural community consumed each only 156 eggs per annum. Consumption of whole milk per person on farms was 38 gallons per annum in 1926 and only 17 gallons in the case of the non-agricultural community. Consumption per head of potatoes is said to be four times as great in the country as in the towns.

Now, the proportion of population living in towns and villages has increased from 38·9 per cent. in 1926 to 42·7 in 1936. It would, therefore, be interesting to calculate how much the total home market has been *diminished* by the transfer of some 110,000 persons from the 312 per annum egg-eating class to the 156 per annum.

The value of produce " consumed on farms " was £15,947,000 in 1936–37 as compared with £16,858,000 in 1929–30, so this section of the home market was a diminishing one. Of course the value of the export market fell calamitously owing to causes which have now happily been removed.

In general, then, the recent industrial expansion is not based on any increase in the reciprocal consumption of each other's products by agriculture and industry, and the home market for agricultural produce has been confined within limits which it has proved impossible to expand.

Cash Crops and Live Stock

A well known feature of our agricultural economy is the small proportion of cash crops to total output. Most of the products of tillage are " used for further production " either on the farm where produced or on some other farm in Éire, and so they appear in the final returns as part of the value of live-stock or live-stock products. Thus in 1929 the output as distinct from the production of tillage products was only £10·3 millions, while live-stock and its products amounted to £53·5 millions. All the efforts of the intervening years

served only to raise the value of tillage products to £12·1 millions in 1935, while live-stock and its products, worth £53·5 millions in 1929, fell in value to £32·2 millions in 1935.

The chief raw material used in the production of live-stock and its products is, of course, grass—which is by far our most valuable crop. Practically all our root crops (other than potatoes) and about three-quarters of our oat crop are in normal times used as raw materials for live-stock production, though not necessarily on the farm producing them. In 1929–30 we produced 13,788,000 cwt. of oats and fed 10,120,000 cwt. of it to live-stock, which was a higher proportion as well as a greater absolute amount so used than in 1926–27 when we produced 12,775,000 cwt. and fed only 8,836,000 cwt. of it to live-stock. Apart from the interruption occasioned by the "Economic War," the normal tendency has been to maintain a total production of oats of about 12 million cwt. In fact in 1929 nearly 14 million cwt. of oats were produced. At the same time the import of maize increased from about $7\frac{1}{2}$ million cwt. in 1926 to nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ million cwt. in 1930. In 1931 the extraordinary cheapness of maize caused an increase in its import to $12\frac{1}{2}$ million cwt. and this affected adversely the interests of native producers of oats for sale to others. To most farmers, however, cheap Indian meal is a godsend, because it means cheap raw material and a wider margin of profit. The production of oats for commercial sale could alone suffer in consequence of the competition of cheap Indian meal, and most farmers who produce oats are buyers of Indian meal rather than sellers of oats. In general the use of imported as well as native cereal products as a raw material for live-stock production seems to increase and diminish together. In 1936, when we had cut down our maize import to 4,370,000 cwt., our oat crop was only a little over 10 million cwt.

The ultimate factor governing the demand for cereal products, whether native or imported, is the price anticipated for the live-stock products for which they serve as raw materials. Our agricultural resources obviously fit us best of all for producing live-stock and its products, and an

expansion of production on these lines will automatically occasion an expansion of tillage (*though not necessarily on the farms which specialise in livestock*) as well as increased absorption of imported raw materials. If a County Meath " rancher " should add dairying, poultry and pig-keeping to his programme, he might well absorb the products of 100 acres of barley and oat cultivation without ploughing up a single acre of his own grassland. The maximum production of agricultural wealth requires an increasing degree of regional specialisation in tillage as well as in other forms of agricultural and pastoral activity.

Economic Policy as modified by the " Agreement " of 1938

The making of the Agreement with Great Britain in 1938 involves a recognition on our part that we need the British export market for our surplus agricultural produce. We have attained by it a free export market for such produce, and this was indeed a matter of life and death for our whole economy. But the new policy has hitherto involved no significant change in our industrial policy. The arrangements for reducing tariffs and liberalising quotas on the import of industrial goods are slow and uncertain, and there is an evident determination to maintain and even to expand the already long list of industrial goods which are subject to tariffs or other commercial restrictions.

Thus, our present policy appears to be to expand agricultural exports while restricting industrial imports. The need for expansion of exports in the national interest is now clearly recognised. We need to replenish the sterling balances which have been heavily depleted in recent years. We cannot safely rely on certain diminishing sources of foreign exchange, such as emigrants' remittances and pensions payable from abroad. Apart from stout, biscuits and a few textiles, agricultural products form our only possible exports. The export of stout has recently been curtailed by a change in manufacturing policy on the part of Messrs. Guinness & Company.

Our total of industrial exports, which in 1929 was £8·2 millions, fell to £4·9 millions in 1936. On the other hand, our import of industrial raw materials was nearly £22 millions in both years. Our export of agricultural goods in 1929 was nearly £36 millions, which was more than enough to pay for the import of industrial raw materials (£22 millions). In 1936 our agricultural exports were only £16 millions, which was definitely less than the value of imported industrial raw materials (£22 millions).

It is argued by some that, since the alternative to importing industrial raw materials is the import (naturally more expensive) of industrial finished goods, the import of the former must be less burdensome nationally than the import of the latter. This implies the assumption that we are bound to buy from abroad or at home a fixed quantity of finished goods. But we cannot, in the long run, continue to buy from any source more industrial goods than we can afford to pay for. Given freedom of import, the volume of such imports will adjust itself, upwards and downwards, to our purchasing power abroad—which depends on our export capacity.

When we change over to an import of raw materials instead of finished goods, that implies that we have incurred capital commitments in respect of artificially stimulated industries at home. If our agricultural export capacity is no longer sufficient to pay for the raw materials that feed these industries at home, sooner or later production in them must be curtailed and some part of the capital sunk in them must be lost.

Putting it in another way, economic advance depends on a continuous adjustment between the pattern of production and the pattern of consumption in the economy as a whole. The closed economy of the so-called home market must involve some degree of national impoverishment, since the economies of international division of labour are to some extent being abandoned. Impoverishment means diminished power to purchase and consume in the national economy. Consequently, while the pattern of production is being expanded and altered

in the national economy, there is a real danger that it may get out of adjustment with the pattern of consumption that comes to prevail in it. This process will be obscured as long as money continues to be poured out for housing or fresh industrial development. But once expenditure on capital account begins to slow down, the maladjustments of a distorted price and income structure in the home market will begin to manifest themselves and depression will set in. Already we observe the ominous effect of the slowing down of housing development due to difficulties of housing finance.

In view of these considerations it seems reasonable to say that we cannot have any sustained industrial development, if we must draw on foreign capital assets in order to pay for the raw materials of an industry catering almost exclusively for the home market. Since industry has shown a declining capacity to export its products and agriculture alone is capable of developing an export capacity, it becomes a matter of urgent public importance to bring about an immediate expansion of agriculture. Everyone admits the necessity of importing industrial raw materials which we cannot produce at home, but the necessity of removing the obstacles which restrict the import of industrial finished goods is not less urgent though not equally obvious.

The primary cause of the present tendency to neglect agriculture and expand industry is the distorted price and income relations between industry and agriculture, which have the effect of attracting labour and capital from the latter to the former.

Between 1932 and 1938 world causes and the British penal taxes on our exports were the chief causes of such distortion. But even after the restoration of a free export market our own commercial and fiscal policy for the furtherance of industry remains a powerful cause of continued distortion. Agriculture is affected both in its costs of production by *e.g.* the higher cost of home-produced implements and in the real purchasing power of agricultural incomes by the generally higher price of home-produced non-agricultural goods and services. If price relations favourable to agricultural expansion

are to be restored, only two alternative policies are possible. There must be a rigid Nazification of our whole price and income structure involving Procrustean cuts in non-agricultural prices, wages and profits, or there must be a reversion to the essential features of a free economy and foreign imports must be freed from all rigid restrictions.

This does not mean the restoration of complete freedom of untariffed import for all commodities. It does mean the abolition of quotas, and the removal of tariffs as well as quotas, in all cases where it is obvious that native industry can never hope to produce as cheaply as we can import. There would remain perhaps a dozen or a score of industries the abandonment of which would cause undesirable dislocation *now*, even if the establishment of some of them was ill-advised in the first instance. To meet such cases a general tariff averaging about 25 per cent. should be established *once for all* on a limited range of goods, and the economy should be left to adjust itself to a new régime of confidence—begetting certainty without the temptations, distractions, and distortions to which it is now subject.

Industrial Flatulence and Monetary Inflation

The matter has a subtler aspect which affects the stability of the national credit as well as the purchasing power of the Irish pound. Most people realise that a continued loss of sterling assets would in the end bring about a depreciation of the national monetary unit, and the Majority Report of the Banking Commission has well pointed out that the very considerable present extent of our sterling currency reserves, so far from saving us from the consequences of ill-advised national economic policies, might only intensify their disastrous effects by enabling us to proceed with them further before being ruthlessly pulled up.

A persistently unbalanced national budget is another cause of ultimate currency depreciation from which we are not immune. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the too liberal distribution of industrial privileges has a destructive

effect on the taxable capacity of the community. In so far as revenue tariffs become protective tariffs they no longer produce revenue for the State. If taxable capacity is to be restored and developed (and it is very necessary in these times), all industrial privileges which impair it should be abolished, and our people should be encouraged once more to apply their energies to those economic resources with which the nation is relatively best provided. Agriculture, now the Cinderella of national industries, must be restored to its proper place in the nation's thought and life.

An increase in the monetary circulation which causes prices generally to rise more than personal incomes is generally admitted to be a symptom of monetary inflation. A similar condition, which may conveniently be called industrial flatulence, can be brought about by the converse method of commercial restriction. If in consequence of fiscal policy a smaller volume of goods and services is available for use and consumption than would be the case if imports were more free, prices in the national community are likely to rise more than incomes and a situation essentially the same as one of monetary inflation will in fact come into existence. In such a more or less "closed economy" prices are likely to rise above the international level. Pure monetary inflation, if confined to a single country, cannot last long without arousing distrust abroad with the natural effect on the foreign exchange value of its currency and on its currency reserves. But industrial flatulence is more subtle and insidious in its working. The monetary symptoms appear as a consequence rather than as a cause and are not adverted to immediately, especially if the country in question has a substantial currency reserve and is willing to use it freely.

Undoubtedly we now suffer from a condition of industrial flatulence. The proof of it is the fact that the Irish pound will buy a much lighter parcel of representative consumers' goods than the English pound for which it is legally exchangeable at par. Consequently, every person domiciled in Éire who lives on the proceeds of sterling investments and every pensioner of our Government who is free to live where

he likes, has an interest in transferring his residence to some country where his £, Irish or sterling, will buy a heavier parcel of representative goods. A process of this kind once started might rapidly deplete even our substantial currency reserves and lead eventually to depreciation and devaluation.

Substantial freedom of import of industrial goods in general is in fact the only effective guarantee we can have against the danger of a *de facto* internal depreciation of the national currency unit.

A policy of monetary expansion has often been advocated as a sovereign remedy for all our economic ills. In 1932, when import was still substantially free, such a policy would have caused an expansion of imports and a loss of sterling balances, but it would not have caused an internal rise of prices above the world level so long as imports from abroad were free to come in at world prices. The purchasing power of the national monetary unit would have been unaffected and no *economic* cause of inflation would have been occasioned. On the other hand, in our present condition of industrial flatulence a policy of monetary expansion would be like a diet of alcohol to a patient suffering from anaemia.

Monetary expansion is generally confused with an increase of purchasing power. An increase in the latter can only result from an increase of the things which money purchases, and one obvious source of such increase is cut off when imports are rigidly restricted.

The experience of Australia in the 1920's is the best example of the inflationary effect of an import of capital in a period of industrial expansion fostered by high tariffs on imported industrial goods. The import of capital, whether borrowed from abroad as in the case of Australia or repatriated as in our case, gives rise to an expansion of imports. Even if " capital goods " themselves come in free of tax, the capital cost of industrial expansion is enhanced if other imported goods must pay customs tariffs. A period of industrial expansion is likely to stimulate all kinds of imports. If these are taxed, the public revenue has a deceptive appearance of buoyancy. In effect such taxes divert to current expenditure

by the State part of the funds made available for the capital purposes of native industry. They add to the capital costs and thus to the overhead charges of native industry in general. When the period of industrial expansion comes to an end, the State suddenly finds its receipts from customs drying up and the national budget becomes unbalanced. Causes such as this operating in the post-war decade ultimately reduced the Australian £ to its present level of 16s. sterling.

Should Large Farms be Discouraged?

The average size of farm in Éire is some 30 acres, and anything over 50 acres is regarded as a "large farm." A grass farm of 100 acres or more is considered a ranch. For a long time public policy has aimed at the relief of congestion by adding to the size of obviously uneconomic small holdings. Such a policy was justified by economic as well as social considerations and was also a belated remedy of an ancient agrarian wrong. The new policy of acquiring by compulsory expropriation large holdings for division among "landless men" gives rise to a host of new considerations and questions, some of which are discussed in the Report of the Banking Commission. The provision of 3,000,000 acres for 100,000 landless men would add £60 millions to the deadweight national debt—a formidable prospect. Small, intermediate, and large holdings have each a necessary place in a well-balanced agricultural economy; but if public policy seeks to alter the size of farms, there are arguments in favour of maintaining large farms as well as of increasing the size of the "uneconomic" farm unit.

On the average we have only three cows per holding, and the number of holdings having 10 cows or more probably does not exceed 50,000. The efficient production of milk under modern conditions of hygiene requires a herd of at least 10 cows with suitable housing and equipment. Our New Zealand competitors operate with herds of 50 or more per holding. They are better fed and more productive than ours. The guaranteed price for New Zealand butter in the 1937–38

season was 13¼d. per lb. f.o.b., equivalent to about 10½d. of our money. At this price, which our farmers would regard as synonymous with bankruptcy, not only was it possible for New Zealand dairy farmers to maintain profitable production for a market 10,000 miles away but to support legislation under which " workers of 21 years of age and over shall receive not less than £2 2s. 6d. weekly, inclusive in all cases of board and lodging, or where that is not provided, the wage to be increased by 17s. 6d. weekly."

Undoubtedly, the large size, efficient equipment and good organisation of New Zealand farms make it possible for them to produce at a cost and maintain a standard of living for farmers and workers which might well be the envy of our small farmers as well as of our landless labourers. Even in our own country the farm labourer on an Eastern well-run large farm has a real income in excess of the small holder's elsewhere and a degree of economic security which the latter can never hope to possess. Our economic and social ideals appear to have been arrived at without adequate consideration. We should deliberately aim at strengthening the economic position of the large farmer, whether he grazes or tills, because only thus can he employ a larger body of agricultural labour at a higher wage than the present quite inadequate one.

As will be shown presently, the number of agricultural employees (for wages) is not much more than twice the number of employers. There must be thousands of farms where only one wage-paid worker is employed and very few indeed where the number is ten or more. In the few cases known to the present writer where six or more workers are employed, there are always some of them getting more than the legal minimum wage, while none gets less. A reasonable encouragement of large-scale farming would open to the agricultural labourer a legitimate avenue of ambition and would enable a larger proportion of that class to earn more than the minimum wage. Specialization of knowledge and skill is possible on large farms, and it pays their owners to reward the possessor of such qualifications with higher wages.

In fact, the relations between agricultural workers and

their employers, large farmers or medium, are not those suggested by the wage-contract in ordinary industrial experience. The worker in agriculture is morally a junior partner in a common enterprise whose success must depend not only on the leadership of the employer but on the loyalty and capacity of the employee. Few things are more creditable in our recent agricultural history than the patient acquiescence of the agricultural labourers in a depression of their standard of life by the circumstances of the "economic war." As good comrades of their employers, they shared a misfortune which, without recrimination and certainly without overt complaint, they recognized as common to both.

According to Vol. VI of the Census of Population 1926, p. 6, in that year 52,000 agricultural employers, male and female, employed 113,000 male wage-paid workers and 1,800 female. The total number of employers in all industries was 73,000, and the total number of employees "at work" was 403,000 male and 176,000 female. There are in the country a few 200 acre farms on which as many as 20 workers per farm are employed. There are a number of farms of 200 acres and more where formerly 20 or 30 workers per farm were employed; but now that they have been cut up and divided among "landless men," the sole employment given is that by a few allottees to themselves as herds of their neighbours' cattle. Put our 52,000 agricultural employers in a position each to employ on the average an additional two men and our unemployment problem is solved and the problem of the "landless men" as well.

For obvious reasons the output per man is larger on large well-equipped farms than on small farms where labour saving equipment is uneconomic. We cannot hope to increase the national wealth from agriculture and the standard of living of agricultural producers unless we encourage such forms of agricultural production as will make possible a maximum increase in the output per worker occupied.

In our present national situation we can expand the national income more quickly by agricultural than industrial expansion, and we can expand our agricultural production

more quickly by liberating the energies of large farmers than by replacing them with small. Such a policy will lead to a proportionately greater expansion of exports, for practically the whole of any increment of production must be exported. Agriculture would thus restore the sterling funds which guarantee the stability of our currency and the dangers apprehended by the Banking Commission would disappear.

In conclusion, it would be a desirable object of public policy to maintain our existing agricultural population on the land, or even to promote an increase in the number following this healthy and truly national occupation. If this is to be accomplished, the standard of production and living must be raised in the ways indicated. But maximum production will not be achieved unless the right number of workers is employed in the right places. There are regions (*e.g.* in the Midlands) capable of more intensive agricultural production. There seems to be no reason why some amount of butter and cheese, pig and poultry production should not figure more largely in the programme of the erstwhile rancher, even if his main reliance must be on dry cattle. These extensions will require capital expenditure on new buildings and equipment, and " agricultural credit " for such purposes should be made available on attractive terms. An expansion of capital equipment on these lines would immediately give rise to a demand for labour perhaps not locally available in adequate quantities. Hence it would be a desirable aspect of public policy to promote a migration of " surplus " agricultural labour from congested districts to other regions where the expanding activities of large farmers gave rise to a demand for additional wage-paid labour.

A policy such as this will lead to increasing wealth for all and ultimately to an increase of population and of the home market for all kinds of goods. If our industrial revivalists will now refrain from pressing such claims as are incompatible with such an expansion, they will eventually have an economic environment in which industrial expansion may take place on a sure and lasting foundation.

JOSEPH JOHNSTON

DANZIG: THE CASE FOR POLAND

BY COLONEL J. J. O'CONNELL, M.A.

AN examination of the present serious Danzig situation may fairly enough begin with a consideration of the late president Wilson's Thirteenth Point, which ran: "An independent Polish State should be erected (1) which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations and (2) which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea." While Polish—and Danzig—history goes back nearly a thousand years before President Wilson, his plain and straightforward statement of the case can hardly be improved on. Moreover, it should be noted that the celebrated "Fourteen Points" were formulated as early as January 8, 1918—*i.e.*, ten months before the Armistice. Consequently the Germans had ample warning what to expect if they lost the war. The possibility of changing the then status of Danzig is implied in the concluding clause of the Wilsonian formula: "and which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea." Poland was to have such a free access, *if necessary even through territory not ethnically Polish.* The free access in question was over and above all other considerations. "The weight of this argument is known in Berlin, for in an important book, published under official patronage, the Thirteenth Point is prominently quoted, but the part of the decisive sentence beginning with 'and' is omitted."[1]

When the time came for the "implementing" of the "access to the sea" clause, the obviously straightforward and sensible course would have been to follow the physical geography of the country. Poland has two clearly-defined natural regions, that of the Vistula and that of the Niemen. These two rivers enter the Baltic some 120 sea miles from each other, at Danzig and Memel respectively. Poland—

[1] Augur: *Eagles, Black and White*: p. 111.

the hinterland of the two rivers—should have obtained the debouches of both. This would have entailed a federation of Lithuania with Poland, a solution expected for old historical reasons by every Polish leader of the time—Dmowski and Paderewski equally with Pilsudski. "Poland had no designs on ethnographic Lithuania; but historic Lithuania (the Grand Duchy of pre-partition days) comprised districts essentially Polish. Lithuania might be independent, but it seemed that her government would be officially associated with that of Poland."[1] The eventual, present small Lithuanian State was largely "made in Germany," for the purpose of weakening Poland by so much: one has only to read Ludendorff, Hoffman, etc. to realise this. Had this plain, obvious "geographical" solution been adopted the course of recent history in these regions would probably have been very different. Danzig and Memel would both have been completely polonised and developed enormously: there would then have been no Gdynia and the millions expended thereon would have been available for their expansion.

The Peace Conference and its Aftermath

This, however, was not to be. Lloyd George stood in the way: all through the Peace Conference he strongly opposed any and every measure calculated to strengthen Poland. The Peace Conference machinery for dealing with the entire Polish problem was as follows: An Inter-Allied Commission, consisting of two representatives each of America, England, France and Italy, established the data for a Report—by collecting evidence, visiting localities, etc. This Report was presented to the Polish Liaison Committee, a body consisting of five members—one from each of the four above-mentioned powers *plus* a Japanese member. It was this body which presented the formal recommendations to the Supreme Council or "Big Four"—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando—who had the last word.

[1] Reddaway: *Marshal Pilsudski*, p. 119.

The Polish Liaison Committee presented its recommendations to the Supreme Council on March 12, 1919. They were *unanimous*. As regards Danzig the recommendation was that the city, together with the territory crossed by the Danzig-Deutsch Eylau-Warsaw railway (including, of course, that important line itself), be given to Poland. Lloyd George moved the return of the Report to the Committee on the grounds that it violated the " principle of nationality." The Report was duly sent back, with Lloyd George's personal " solution " tagged on to it. This last was to the effect that Danzig should be a " Free City " and that the other area (*i.e.*, Deutsch Eylau) should be made the subject of a plebiscite. The Committee re-considered their Report and even called in Paderewski to give further evidence before them. On April 12th—*i.e.*, after exactly one month—the Report again came before the Supreme Council. Again the Committee were unanimous—this time *standing by the original recommendation in full*. They added a rider to the effect that any solution other than that of definitely assigning Danzig to Poland " would compromise the establishment and maintenance of the peace of Europe."[1] There have been few truer prophecies; but Lloyd George won his point all the same and the Committee was finally over-ridden.

Poland had not long to wait for practical demonstrations of what exactly an " access to the sea " meant as provided by this sort of a Danzig. Indeed, she had already (January-February, 1919) had a foretaste of what to expect—when the Hoover Food Commission had to bring Allied pressure to bear in order to get landed cargoes of flour sent to avert a threatened famine. In the circumstances it is not surprising to learn that still more strenuous opposition was raised in Danzig, when it was a question of the six divisions of Polish troops recruited in France and America. These troops had been asked for in November 1918, and the decision to send them to Poland was taken in March 1919. The question of Danzig was at that moment *sub judice* and the German Government refused to let the Polish troops land

[1] Quoted in Machray: *Poland* 1914–1931, p. 123.

there—on the ground that they were not *Allied* troops in the strict sense. Now, it would have been an easy thing to convoy the six divisions to Danzig and land them there under the guns of the escorting fleet; but the Allies negotiated instead. They asserted "in principle" their right to use Danzig—and then railed the Polish troops across Germany overland. The troops reached Poland in the second half of April—a month's delay having been caused, which might have been vital.

No wonder that the Danzigers—encouraged by this example of Allied weakness—took up an even stronger stand the following year, when the Bolshevik armies were close before Warsaw. On July 25th Germany declared neutrality and prohibited the transport of war material across her territory to *both* belligerents—Poland being the only one threatened with any shortage. This decision was enforced by the action of the Danzig dockers who refused to unload Allied munition-ships. That work was eventually done by Allied soldiers, though too late for the decisive battle—which, fortunately, had in the meantime been won by Pilsudski.

These lessons were not lost on Poland. "To secure an independent outlet to the sea, since Danzig was politically uncertain and commercially inadequate, a new port was begun on the western shore of the gulf which bears her name. Gdynia, begun with French gold, embodied Poland's ambition towards self-sufficiency, commerce, industry and sea-power. Its birth coincided with the final sanction by Europe of the Polish eastern and northern frontiers." [1]

Danzig and Poland in History

What has been said up to this point may, to some extent, seem to be putting the cart before the horse. Such, however, is not really the case. The question in its present form dates from the Peace Conference of 1919; and all the complications are directly traceable to the half-hearted and unsatisfactory solution then attempted to be applied. But

[1] Reddaway: *op. cit.*, p. 174.

now, with some idea of what is involved, it will help to briefly review the historical side of the question—keeping as closely as possible to the story of Danzig itself.

The earliest historical notice of Danzig—or rather of *Gdansk*, for Danzig is merely the German form of that Slav place-name—dates from 1125. It was then christianised by Boleslaw III, King of Poland, who developed it as the maritime outlet for his Kingdom. It grew rapidly, and the population was increased by the addition of German and Scandinavian elements.[1] It grew to be one of the most important of the Hansa Towns, always under Polish suzerainty, and did not become politically German until 1308—which happened in this fashion. The city was seized by the Teutonic Knights while Ladislas the Short, the reigning Polish monarch, was fighting in the south of the kingdom. The Polish part of the population—stated to number 10,000—was massacred. The necessity for this procedure is thus stated by the Prussian Major-General Koehler in a work published in 1893: "The conduct of the Order towards Danzig and Tczew was nothing less than the Mongol manner of waging war . . . . Genghiz Khan acted in that way, because he had not a strong enough army to allow him to leave garrisons in the most important towns. The Order, *having only a small armed force*,[2] was obliged to employ the same methods."[3] At all events, the massacre had the very understandable result of earning for the Teutonic Knights in particular—and for Germans in general—the undying hatred of the Poles.

The Knights held Danzig for a century and a half. Although their power was utterly broken at the great battle of Tannenberg-Grünwald in 1410, they did not finally return Danzig to Poland until 1466 (Second Treaty of Torun). The status of the city now remained virtually unchanged for well over three hundred years—that of a Free City under Polish suzerainty. No sooner had Danzig returned to Poland than its prosperity soared upwards. In those times the

[1] *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, vol. VI, p. 450.

[2] This statement is questionable, even at the date in question. Certainly under Winrich von Kniprode, half a century later, the Order was by far the strongest military power in Europe.

[3] Quoted in Smogorzewski: *Poland's Access to the Sea*, p. 43.

main article of export was grain. The following figures are illuminating :[1] whereas the exports in 1490 totalled only 24,500 tons, by 1617—before the Swedish wars—they had jumped to 289,000 tons. Danzig had at that time a monopoly of Poland's foreign trade. After 1772 Danzig lost her prosperity. Frederick the Great starved her out and subordinated her interests to those of the purely Prussian seaports of Stettin and Königsberg.

Danzig and Germany

Prussia lost Danzig to Napoleon in 1807 ; and after she recovered the city in 1814, there was nothing done there for thirty years, when it was made the beginnings of a naval station and eventually became the main Prussian naval port. When Prussia grew into Germany, the main naval forces were transferred to Kiel and Wilhelmshafen. Danzig, however, was developed as a ship-building centre, specialising in light craft—submarines, destroyers and light cruisers. During the World War it served as an advanced base for naval operations against Russia. Accordingly, it need cause no surprise to find Herr Albert Forster saying at a Danzig Nazi demonstration on August 2nd last : "The Danzig population desires most ardently to see the German navy permanently stationed again in Danzig."

Danzig, in fact, while it might possibly become again a German naval base, can never be a German *sea-port* ; for it lacks the one indispensable condition—that of being near the mouth of a *German* river. Danzig happens to be near the mouth of a Polish river ; and its circumstances are thus fundamentally different from those of Bremen, Hamburg and Stettin, all of which have ample trade hinterlands that are entirely German. In point of fact the trade of Danzig has grown enormously in the last twenty years—*i.e.*, since it ceased to be politically a part of Germany and reverted to its ancient rôle of trade-outlet for Poland. Since 1913—the last and best pre-war year—the volume of shipping has

[1] Bruce Boswell : *Poland and the Poles*, p. 151.

roughly quadrupled :[1] 2,112,101 tons in 1913 ; 8,280,232 tons average of the four years 1928–29–30–31, which shows that the creation of Gdynia has not injured it. The figure for last June was 694,549 tons—*en pleine crise :*

Why then—apparently against reason—does Danzig seek to break away from Poland ? There is no question of Polish oppression—for the present status, that of a Free City under Polish suzerainty, is quite familiar to the Poles. It worked quite well from 1466 up to 1793. Why does it no longer work ?

The reason is that by 1919 Danzig had come to be peopled very largely by German government pensioners and their descendants, by government dockyard workers, etc. These were far more vocal—not to say vociferous—than the older and staider mercantile element of the population with some memories of an old Hansa tradition. Indeed, only the former element had any really effective " say " in the local government of the city. And, broadly speaking, the ' motif ' underlying Danzig government from the beginning was to make things as awkward as possible for Poland. This was so even long before the Hitler regime in Germany.

Poland and the Sea

Poland, however and despite all the difficulties in the way, has no intention of being ousted from the usufruct of Danzig. Poland, in short, has at length taken to heart the words of Ernst Moritz Arndt : " Poland failed to realise that her national duty was, above all things, to defend her maritime frontier by driving away the Teutonic Knights. Her neglect in this matter caused the death of Poland."[2] But, unlike the old Poland, the new state is actively defending her maritime frontier and her maritime interests. Let us examine briefly this quite new phenomenon of " sea-mindedness " among the Poles. The two following tables afford a striking illustration of how this is exemplified in practice.

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[1] Smogorzewski : *op. cit.*, p. 308.
[2] Quoted in Didelot : *La Marine de l'Aigle Blanc :* foreword.

Share of Sea-borne in total Foreign Trade of Poland [1]

1922	..	7·3 per cent.
1924	..	13·1 ,,
1926	..	17·1 ,,
1929	..	42·0 ,,
1932	..	60·9 ,,
1934	..	67·8 ,,

Destination of Sea-borne Trade of Poland

		European Countries	*Trans-Oceanic*
1929	..	95·3 per cent.	4·7 per cent.
1930	..	94·9 ,,	5·1 ,,
1931	..	94·1 ,,	5·9 ,,
1932	..	94·0 ,,	6·0 ,,
1933	..	92·2 ,,	7·8 ,,
1934	..	91·1 ,,	8·9 ,,

The trend is not merely unmistakable but astonishingly steady as well. It disposes once for all of any suggestion that Gdynia represents only a " flash in the pan." Gdynia, indeed, has not unfairly been called a " miracle." A fishing village of 600 souls twenty years ago, it is now a city of 125,000—the biggest and best-equipped port on the Baltic sea and the sixth in Europe. It is growing steadily—June of the present year constituting a record month of 978,062 tons.[2]

Gdynia was the first emphatic expression of Poland's determination not to be ever again pushed back from the sea. The " coal railway " from Silesia to this port was merely a way of emphasising the status of the harbour. It has become the best-paying proposition of all the state railways in Europe. It is superfluous to add that, from the strategic as distinct from the economic point of view, it is of quite the first importance.

The latest manifestation of this maritime impulse of Poland is the inauguration this year of the brand-new port of Wladislawowo. Unlike Danzig and Gdynia, this is a port

[1] *La Revue Maritime :* June 1936, p. 819.

[2] *La France Militaire*, 22 July 1939.

on the open waters of the Baltic—outside the Hela peninsula instead of inside. The intention is later to cut a ship canal across the isthmus at the neck of the peninsula. At the moment Wladislawowo is only a sort of better-class fishing harbour : later it will be able to save a day for transatlantic liners—a very important consideration indeed.

The term " transatlantic " introduces quite a new note in Polish maritime aspirations ; it is a factor that cannot be ignored. It must be remembered that, as long ago as 1919, the Polish-Americans were able to accomplish great things for the " old country." At the present time, numbering some four or five millions, they constitute a very important contributory element in the matter of " sea-mindedness." These people are among the later arrivals racially in America and, as such, are correspondingly more closely in touch with the home-land and with their friends and relations there. It is no longer the 1772 affair of throttling a peasant population with no interests whatever overseas. Indeed, it was the American Poles who initiated the Mercantile Marine of resurrected Poland. " The greatest effort to provide Poland with a mercantile service was made by the Poles of America, who put up a capital of 3½ million dollars and formed a Polish-American Navigation Corporation in 1919."[1]

It will, accordingly, be quite clear that, apart from any question of historical claim to Danzig, Poland has during the past twenty years established very great and valuable vested interests in her own national territory west of the Free City—*i.e.*, in the Pomorze province, the pre-war " West Prussia," which is *ethnically the most Polish region of Poland.* These great new harbours and railways constitute a material embodiment of Polish national effort that will not be lightly relinquished. It is in the light of this that Danzig—*i.e.*, the 700 square miles of the Free City enclave—has to be understood.

The Military Aspect

A glance at the map will show that the Danzig territory takes a bite out of the " corridor " which halves the width

[1] Smogorzewski : *Poland's Access to the Sea*, p. 388, footnote.

of the latter where it is already narrowest. So long as this territory is neutralised, it remains an inconvenience, certainly, but scarcely constitutes an active danger. At the moment Danzig territory is not linked with East Prussia—the two branches of the Vistula are important obstacles and they are not bridged. Heavy batteries on the Hela peninsula could effectively prevent the occupation of the Danzig fore-port by hostile ships. Altogether then, from the standpoint of a Polish army facing west, the Danzig enclave is not, in its present character, an active threat. But the present conditions constitute the minimum guarantee with which Poland could reasonably be expected to be content. To quietly acquiesce in Danzig being made a huge sally-port from East Prussia would be too much to expect of human nature.

Once during each of the four last centuries the Poles have had a convincing proof of the military danger of a hostile Danzig to their own independence. The most recent of these occasions—the Bolshevik war of 1920—has already been mentioned. Before that, in 1806–7, Napoleon before advancing eastward cleared his flank by the recovery of Danzig from Prussia. Still earlier, in 1733–4, Stanislas Leczynski clung desperately to the place as his last foothold against August "the Strong" and the latter's foreign paymasters. When he lost Danzig, his kingdom was lost along with it—but the lesson was not lost on Frederick the Great (1712–1786) who said: "Who rules over the mouth of the Vistula and the City of Danzig will be more master of Poland than the king who rules there."

But by far the most instructive lesson of all is that conveyed by the Swedish War of 1626–29;[1] for the adversary on that occasion was no less a captain than Gustavus Adolphus; and his aim was nothing short of "Dominium Maris Baltici." But it so happened that, in Stanislas Koniecpolski, Poland at the time also possessed a great general, who by a system of active defence prevented the Swedish King from ever establishing a close investment of Danzig. The city held out through the four years—the

[1] Dodge: *Gustavus Adolphus*, passim.

siege being raised from time to time. Once even the Poles managed to break the blockade at sea—by a naval victory in Danzig Bay (Oliva; November 28, 1627). Thus, Gustavus could neither himself secure a good base for the invasion of Poland nor completely cut off that country from the sea. In effect, he was firmly pinned, precisely in the "corridor," until more urgent interests called him away.

The Common-sense Solution

It is fairly clear, then, that neither commercially nor militarily can Poland forego Danzig. It is a question of a country of thirty-six millions living its own life free from menace. True, the Danzigers, while nowise oppressed, are eager for an altered status. The Poles cannot safely consider any alteration of the present status of the Free City: they have already conceded the maximum they can. Is there no way out except by war?

As it so happens there is—and quite recently Herr Hitler himself has shown the way. The population-exchange in Italian Tirol presents such an obvious head-line that it is strange that nobody has so far instanced it as having a bearing on Danzig. The physical difficulties in the way of a transfer are much greater in the Italian case—agricultural population of a special type, poor communications, etc. The loyalty of the Danzig population to Prussia was certainly no more intense than that of the Tirolers to the Habsburgs. The numbers involved are not excessive. The Free City's population is a little over 400,000, while the Poles living in Germany number $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions. It is extremely likely that one in four of these last would "opt out"; and that would account for practically the entire population of Danzig. It is, however, much more likely that not more than 50% of the Danzigers would really leave if it came to the push; so that their replacement by Poles would seem to offer little real difficulty. At all events, as an alternative to war, the exchange solution seems well worth trying; and Poland would be only too glad to pay any indemnity fixed by an international tribunal.

J. J. O'Connell

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

BY PROFESSOR DR. T. W. T. DILLON

FOR the past few years there has been in every country, in Europe and America, a small group of harassed people who worked for the refugees. Their number steadily grew; but the number of refugees mounted much more rapidly. There was no time for thought or planning; no time for anything but the evil of each day, which generally surpassed that of the day before. These poor cranks were dealing with an emergency—something quite out of the ordinary, something that was nobody's business. They were struggling with quite inadequate means, often with no visible means whatever, to cope with a growing flood of helpless and homeless people. Their work was variously regarded; at best with mild surprise and admiration; more commonly with irritation and suspicion. It was universally agreed, both by sympathizers and critics, that they were scandalously incompetent. It was extremely difficult to get accurate information about them or their doings, since they had apparently no publicity arrangements and did not cater for the enquiring onlooker.

The invasion of Austria, with the resultant wave of suicides and the outpouring of refugees over every frontier; the occupation first of the Sudeten land and then of Prague, with in each case another stream of desperate people seeking refuge anywhere outside: these things have brought home to the most unimaginative the urgency of the refugee problem. The small group of harassed cranks, who had coped so inefficiently with the rising tide, has become an imposing crowd of committees spreading a network of organization over all the countries which have so far escaped the contagion of racialism. Great sums of money have been collected and distributed. Thousands of refugees have been received, directed to friendly houses or camps, retrained for a new

life, and sent off to some country where it is still possible to settle permanently. Meanwhile the state of hectic emergency has passed into one of dreary permanency. Things have not improved for the persecuted minority in Germany; they are not going to improve; indeed there is every likelihood that they will get steadily worse. But outside Germany there are at least signs that the problem is being carefully studied and that the people are making up their minds in most countries to make their contribution towards a final settlement. The worst is now known, and we must be prepared to face it. In a recent number of STUDIES Professor Ditchburn gave a careful analysis of the statistical background, the study of which is an essential preliminary to the formulation of any plans for the future. But figures are not enough; we are not dealing with so many thousand units amenable to some standard treatment. Refugees are human beings, often in a state of extreme nervous prostration, always—if they come from Germany—destitute; they are by no means free from the ordinary human failings, and their recent experience of Totalitarian civilization does not make them great lovers of rigid discipline.

These facts are clearly realized in Continental countries, where refugees are no new phenomenon; the English have come to recognize them within the last year or two. Here in Ireland we still have a lot to learn; and since we have only recently started refugee relief work it is well that we should know exactly what we are undertaking. The first question that any prudent man, who approaches the matter with a critical mind, will ask is: Must these people really leave Germany? Would it not be possible for them to remain, in reduced circumstances no doubt, but still in conditions which are tolerable and which may well compare favourably with those endured by our own poor? If this is so, would it not be much wiser to leave them where they are; for if you start taking them out—so the argument might run—how are you to pick and choose? What end do you envisage, unless it be the total removal of the non-Aryan population? Every sensible person who has had to do with refugees has put these or similar questions to himself. They are reasonable questions

which require adequate answers before one is justified in advocating any large scale action. The only possible answer lies in an objective description of the conditions under which the prospective refugee lives and must continue to live, in Germany and Austria.

There are broadly speaking two classes of persons who must leave Germany: political offenders and those of Jewish race. The first class of political objectionable people is an extremely heterogeneous one; it extends from Otto Strasser and his friends who are dissident National Socialists to trade union leaders and Communists who escaped while it was still easy to cross the frontier. The bulk of this political emigration occurred in the years 1933 and 1934, though there is still a steady trickle of people who have fallen from official favour. The latest recruits from the ranks of the Nazi party are Herman Rauschnigg, former president of the Danzig Senate, who has just published a book[1] against the *régime;* and Dr. Putzi Hanfstaegel, formerly the intimate friend and adviser of the Führer on all matters of social deportment and foreign relations. He is also writing a book, which—it is confidently expected—will contain its quota of spicy revelations. General von Blomberg is another prominent figure of this recent political emigration which will, in all probability, remain a feature of the Third Reich. This is, however, not a very serious problem for the time being. The numbers were never very great, and the majority of those exiled in the early stages have long since found a permanent home. Its importance lies rather in the fact that it has a predominantly left-wing progressive political colour; and that the political intellectuals have created an atmosphere of preoccupation with foreign politics which is far from characteristic of the emigration as a whole. Erika and Klaus Mann's recent book *Escape to Life*[2] is an excellent example of this tendency; it gives, in my opinion, a false picture both of the refugees as a body and of their prospects. Of course they were not writing about the ordinary refugee but rather about the intellectual

[1] *Germany's Revolution of Destruction* (Heinemann, 1939, 10s. 6d.)
[2] Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939, $3·50.

emigration. The book gives an impressive picture of the thoroughness with which the Nazis have cleared out modern European culture of whatever shade. The names cited read like a catalogue of celebrities in science, art, and literature. The loss might not be so irreparable as the Manns suppose, if the Nazi spirit were capable of inspiring men to great effort in the sphere of intellectual endeavour or artistic perfection ; for post-war German culture was by no means a thing of pure beauty or flawless unity. But it was at least a living culture ; and the good has gone with the bad, leaving an immense void behind which the Nazis do not appear to be able to fill. Neither the political nor the intellectual refugees are to-day the main problem. There are of course still scholars, writers and artists who have not yet found a permanent home, but their numbers are small compared with the mass of so-called non-Aryans who have either left Germany or must leave as soon as possible. If we wish to understand why these people must leave Germany, we must ascertain who they are and the conditions of their everyday life in modern Germany.

Non-Aryans received a legal status in Germany with the adoption of the Nuremberg laws (15 September, 1938), which were rather the codification of accepted practice at that date than a new departure. They are divided into three groups : Jews, first degree Hybrids, and second degree Hybrids. But practice has outrun legal theory since 1935, and it is no longer necessary to enter into the minutiae of the rights and duties appertaining by law to the separate groups. The position to-day is broadly speaking the following : Germans are divided into three classes : full Germans or Aryans ; half-breeds ; Jews.

The full German must be able to prove that he has no grandparent of Jewish race. Since the term " Jewish race " is not susceptible of strict definition, this means in practice that he must be able to show that not more than one great-grandparent professed at any time of his life the Jewish religion. It is clear that the number of people who can produce documentary proof that all their eight great-grandparents were baptised Christians must be very limited. Yet there

is no other certain protection against the blackmailer, the envious competitor, or the private enemy who may choose to impugn the purity of a man's ancestry. A doubtful or insufficiently authenticated ancestry is not in itself a bar to full German citizenship. But it is a definite block to advancement in the service of the party or state. That the government is empowered to issue certificates of Arianization to persons who are unable to supply the necessary documentary proof is an indication that those without the certificate are at a disadvantage. It is difficult to forecast what the outcome of this distinction within the body of full-blooded Germans may be. It might develop into a full-blooded caste system; or it may—perhaps more probably—give place gradually to a clear and simple system in which the mass of Germans will be recognized as full Aryans.

The existence of the large hybrid element is the real cause of difficulty. It is easy enough to deal with a Jew who is born of parents who were themselves practising Jews, and who therefore has four or at least three Jewish grandparents. In accordance with the oft quoted article of the 1920 programme, which was embodied in the Nuremberg laws: "None but members of the nation may be citizens of the state. None but those of German blood—*whatever their Creed*—may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation." The Jew has no rights. It is irrelevant whether he is Christian, agnostic, or Jewish by religion, if he is a Jew in the eyes of the law: he may not study for any profession, he may not hold any appointment under state or municipality, he may not exercise any remunerative trade, he may not own any business, he may not employ non-Jews or be employed by either Jew or non-Jew except as a domestic servant in a Jewish house. He has of course none of the rights or duties of a citizen.

What happens if he is a halfbreed—*i.e.*, if he has one or two Jewish grandparents? Theoretically a clear distinction is drawn between first degree Hybrids, second degree Hybrids, and full Jews. In practice first degree Hybrids, who have two Jewish grandparents tend to be assimilated to the full

Jews, with this difference that they are called upon to do labour service and that they are liable to be mobilized in time of war. Second degree Hybrids, with one Jewish grandparent, are all candidates for Arianization. The attitude towards them varies very much in different regions, and clearly depends to a great extent on the mentality of the local Nazi Boss. In Austria and the Rhineland they have, on the whole, been assimilated rather to the Jewish population: elsewhere certificates of Arianization have been issued with considerable freedom. The great majority of the Hybrids are Christians. They are the offspring of Christian marriages in which one or both of the consorts were themselves Christians and in which the children were baptised at birth. Others have been converted later in life. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century there has been a steady stream of conversion to Christianity. No doubt many of these conversions had no great religious significance, but were rather a sign of assimilation to German society. But there is no reason to doubt that the children of these converted Jews were brought up as sincere Christians. Indeed it would not have been easy, in 19th century Germany, to neglect the religious upbringing of children, since religion was taught in all the state schools.

We may take it, therefore, that a large proportion of the Hybrids are genuine Christians who have received the same religious education as their "Aryan" fellow countrymen. Some of them, born of Jewish or agnostic parents, are converts to Christianity. It is stated that there were an unusual number of Jewish converts in or about the time that Hitler came to power. It is difficult to understand what motive, other than genuine conviction, could have induced a Jew to become a Christian just at that time. By so doing he sacrificed the not inconsiderable advantages attached to his membership of the Jewish community, and he had been forewarned by Hitler that Creed would make no difference to his fate. However that may be, it is unlikely that any who became Christians for convenience only will have remained Christians. It is certainly worse to be a Christian Jew in Germany to-day

than to be a Jew *tout court*. The Jew has a better chance of emigration and is sure of a good reception in any foreign country from the local Jewish Community. The Christian, and particularly the Catholic, Jew is in an even more unhappy state inside Germany and is less sure of a welcome from his co-religionists outside. We may therefore assume that those who declare themselves Christian to-day are genuine converts. We recently had an opportunity of discussing this matter with a German priest who had himself converted several Jews. He told us that those who became Catholic as adult converts, after the two years of instruction which are obligatory in most parts of Germany, were in the main exemplary Catholics. As regards the born Catholics who come from Austria, Bavaria, and the Rhineland, they do not differ from their Aryan fellow Catholics. Anyone who knows Germany will know what this implies. To be a Catholic in the Rhineland means perhaps more than to be a Catholic in Bavaria. And in both Rhineland and Bavaria there are far more practising Catholics than in Vienna.

There are then a large body of Catholics—some thousands—who are to-day treated as pariahs in Germany and Austria. It will be useful at this stage to make some attempt to picture the daily life of these Christian Jews in a city like Vienna. Doctors, lawyers, merchants, employees of the white collar type, they formed a representative section of the middle class in Austrian cities. They lived in flats or, if they were wealthy, in villas in the suburbs. Their friends were mainly Christians. Their children played in the public parks, attended the public schools, and were brought up to feel themselves no different from their neighbours. They did not suffer from the antisemitism which was constantly cropping up in Vienna, where indeed Hitler first learnt to be an antisemite. Many of them were in fact antisemitic themselves. They shared in the difficulties as well as in the advantages of Viennese life, which is made up of hard work, good talk in the cafés, and above all good music.

Then came the Schuschnigg plebiscite. This unsuccessful attempt to prevent Hitler's conquest of Austria was a major

misfortune for the non-Aryans in Vienna. They very naturally threw themselves heart and soul into the campaign. Did they not know the fate reserved for them by the Nuremberg laws? And strange as it may seem now, they were filled with confidence. They believed in Schuschnigg and, in the last resort, in Mussolini. When the crash came, there was therefore no hope for them, no possible mitigation of their lot. The work of ostracisation, which had taken three years in Germany, was completed in three months. They were driven out without compensation or consideration of any kind. Every avenue of gainful employment was rapidly closed to them. Men who had earned £1,000 per annum found themselves suddenly out of work. But the fate of those who lived on a weekly wage was more horrible. Destitution, when their small savings should be exhausted, was inevitable. They must face the Viennese winter—during which 10 degrees of frost is quite common—without money to buy fuel, food or warm clothing. Most of them had furniture, china, household effects and personal belongings, on the proceeds of which they could live for a time. But even this last resource was taken from many when the fine was imposed on all the Jews of the Reich in November, 1938 after the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris. Families who had formerly possessed a flat found themselves on the street, locked out of their own flat and forbidden to take away any of their own belongings. Meanwhile, as regulations became stricter and stricter, it was increasingly difficult to find anywhere to live. Whole streets were forbidden to Jews. No Aryan would incur the odium of sheltering them. If they were Jews by religion, they had at least the hope of being received and succoured by their own community. All the limitless charity of the Jewish communities throughout the world was focussed on Vienna in those critical days. The story is told that Göring came to Vienna and confiscated the whole funds of the Jewish community. They wired to America asking for help. The next day their funds were replaced to the last cent. in dollars safe in American hands, where Göring could not touch them.

But the Jewish Catholics had no claim on those funds. They turned naturally to the well-known Caritas Verband—the association of all Catholic charities. The Caritas Verband was involved in delicate negotiations with the new Government over arrears of taxation which, it was alleged, were long overdue. If liability were proved, then a large fine would have to be paid in addition to the taxation arrears. The Caritas Verband was informed that any help given to non-Aryans would immediately result in the most rigorous application of the law. This meant in effect confiscation of the greater part of the Catholic charity funds in Vienna, unless the official charities agreed not to aid non-Aryans. They had no choice but to agree. The unfortunate Jewish Catholics found themselves therefore hemmed in on every side. Only the Society of Friends—who kept their famous office in Singer-Strasse open all day long and every day—were still there to encourage them and give them hope. One cannot sufficiently praise the efforts made by the Society of Friends to alleviate the horrible and hopeless state of these miserable creatures all through a terrible winter. But the Friends would be the first to admit that they could not cope with the constantly growing evil. One thing they were able to do, to act as liaison officers between outside Committees and the Jewish Christians. They acted for our Committee in Ireland, and it was through their efforts that the first batch of Jewish Christian refugees reached Ireland. The German Bishops formed a committee—the Raphaels Verein—in the autumn of 1938 to co-operate with Catholic committees abroad. But in Austria—except for the efforts of a few fearless priests—there was no attempt made by the Catholic community to co-operate in arranging for the emigration of people.

The picture given above is, in all conscience, bad enough; but there is worse to come. When the first rush of emigration had passed and the neigbouring countries refused to admit any more, the German authorities apparently decided that they could force foreign countries to open their frontiers by applying continuous pressure to the non-Aryans. They

developed, to this end, a cat and mouse policy. Batches of potential refugees were seized and detained for some days. Sometimes they were placed in concentration camps; sometimes they were only threatened with incarceration if they did not leave Germany within a definite period. Often they were made, on pain of life-long incarceration in a concentration camp, to sign an undertaking that they would leave Germany by a certain date. There is good evidence available that after the first few weeks, during which pandemonium reigned inside and outside the camps, the treatment of non-political prisoners was not too bad. But the horror of the concentration camp has sunk too deeply into the minds of Germans to be eradicated by any evidence. It is the horror of the unknown. There is no certainty about it; there is no limit to what might happen to you once you are shut up—or so everyone believes. Now a fear of this kind destroys the integrity of the mind. There is no resisting it. As the date approaches when a man must either get out of Germany or go for ever into silence, he tends to become desperate. His desperation, if he is enterprising, may land him as an illegal refugee on the territory of some neighbouring country which is getting tired of refugees. Sometimes that country puts them back again or tries to put them back. That is a prolific cause of suicide. The ordinary middle-aged middle-class non-Aryan is much more liable to succumb to the temptation of the gas-oven without any preliminary adventuresome attempts at escape. This cat and mouse policy has been most effective. It has forced foreign organizations to redouble their efforts to obtain entry permits for more refugees.

The entry permit! There are people who feel slightly sick whenever they hear the word. It has become the symbol of so much that is sad, hopeless, wearisome and infinitely laborious. There are three conditions which must be fulfilled before an entry permit can be obtained for any refugee into this country. (1) He must have a reasonable chance of emigrating to some other country, and someone must guarantee the cost of emigration. (2) His financial maintenance must be guaranteed during his stay in the country. (3) He must not

during his period of residence engage in gainful occupation. These are perfectly reasonable conditions from the Irish point of view; and I should like here to pay a warm tribute to the patient courtesy and kindness of our officials who have to administer these regulations. They have gone to the extreme limit to facilitate the refugee committees in their task, and the work has been carried out in an atmosphere of mutual trust which has done much to lighten the labour. But it is nevertheless extremely difficult to fulfil these three conditions in most cases. Where a refugee has friends or relations in this country, or where he has managed by fair means or foul to smuggle out some money the thing is possible. For the ordinary refugee who knows nobody, who has nothing to recommend him except his Christianity, who is in fact a complete liability, it is desperately hard to find the guarantee required. And yet these people are just as deserving of help as the others, and they need it much more urgently. A girl arrived in Ireland the other day from such a family. She is 13 years of age. She told us that her parents were reduced to buying dog biscuits before she left. They had nothing left to sell. There is no hope for these people. Slow starvation or emigration—that is the ugly choice. The Catholics are in the worst position. Italy is now closed to them; indeed she is driving out those whom she formerly received. France is overwhelmed by refugees of every race and nation. Holland and Belgium have done wonderful work, but they are small countries and they have now reached the limit of their capacities. Here in Ireland we have as yet done very little. There are about 40 Catholic refugees in Ireland—25 of whom are being trained in agriculture. About a year ago a joint appeal was issued on behalf of all Jewish Christians by a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Fahy. It was signed—amongst others—by the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh and by the Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel and Tuam. The fund collected was intended to serve both as a maintenance and an emigration fund. Unfortunately the sum collected was only sufficient to provide for about 70 refugees, of whom 25 are being maintained by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Up to two

months ago the only Catholic Committee working in Ireland was the University College Catholic Committee for German and Austrian refugees. Its original intention was to look after students and scholars, to whom the National University was prepared to offer generous facilities. It was, however, gradually drawn into the various branches of refugee work, and became responsible for the recommendation of all the Catholic refugees admitted to this country up to last June.

One of the most important sections of its work was concerned with the provision of free education for non-Aryan children. This is a very important task, to which we in Ireland can make a valuable contribution. These children are subjected in Germany to every kind of humiliation and insult. In some places they are not allowed to attend Aryan schools, which means that they must go to the Jewish school. Elsewhere they are made to sit on a bench apart, and must listen to constant denunciations of the Jewish race and praise of the regime. Outside school they are not allowed to go into any of the parks or recreation grounds. It is, therefore, a great charity to remove these children; and the gratitude of the parents is most moving. Not only are the children saved from a life of ignominy and hopelessness, but their parents are also greatly facilitated in their own emigration. This aspect of the work was developed by Professor Mary Macken and her assistant Miss Power, who succeeded in rescuing a number of children, placing them in Irish schools, and arranging for holiday hospitality. Some two months ago it was decided that the Catholic Committee should be completely reorganized. The University Committee will continue as before to deal with students and scholars. All other cases have been handed over to a new body called the Irish Catholic Council for Refugees, *Hon. Sec., C. Gavan-Duffy, 36 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.* It is hoped that it will be possible to take a number of Catholic refugees this autumn under a new scheme which has been prepared by the Council. It is planned to form local committees throughout the country who will co-operate with the Council in the dual task of maintaining individual refugees and collecting funds

to cover the cost of emigration. While the refugees are in this country, they need not waste their time in enforced idleness. Indeed it is most important to keep them occupied. Unfortunately their former experience is, as a general rule, useless. They can only hope to be admitted as permanent immigrants into New Zealand, Australia, the U.S.A., Brazil, and the other South American republics. These countries need agricultural labourers and skilled manual workers, such as carpenters. It is, therefore, necessary to use the time available for training in some occupation which will help them to gain entrance to a land of permanent settlement.

It must surely be obvious that no people are more fitted than the Irish by their past history and present circumstances to undertake this kind of relief work. When our forefathers sought refuge in other countries down through the centuries, they were everywhere received with genuine Christian charity. Nowhere was greater kindness shown them than in the Austrian Empire, from which so many of these refugees are now coming. We are an agricultural people, and have therefore ample means of training would-be emigrants in every kind of farm work. We have relatives in every part of the globe, and can therefore easily smooth the path of the emigrant to Australia, New Zealand, or even South America. If each parish in Ireland were to take charge of one refugee, the total would be imposing ; and yet the burden would not be a heavy one. We have been asked by the late Pope and the present Pope to help in this work. His Holiness Pius XI was so confident that Ireland would respond to the appeal of the refugees that He sent us £1,000 to form the nucleus of a Catholic fund ; and "Cardinal Pacelli (now Pope Pius XII), in forwarding this donation, expressed the hope that the act of paternal generosity on the part of the august Pontiff might stimulate the magnanimous hearts of Irish Catholics to do their utmost to help the Catholic refugees from Germany."[1] The Catholics of Ireland cannot refuse to listen to so clear a direction and so solemn an appeal from the Holy See. T. W. T. Dillon

[1] Quoted from Bulletin of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Nov., 1938.

SENATOR DAVID C. BRODERICK OF CALIFORNIA

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AMERICA was well advertised in Ireland after the war of 1812. The return of Irish soldiers who had fought in the armies of such Irish-born generals as Ross of Bladensburg and Pakenham, the frequent notices of the States in the Irish press, and the growing number of emigrants who reported their success as artisans at $2.00 per day and as common labourers at the then fabulous rate of a dollar a day—all these were factors in advertising America in Ireland. No longer was there a labour demand in an England brought low by a depression following the Napoleonic Wars. Whereas in America there was a labour shortage as factories were developed, roads constructed, and the West opened for settlement. With the further inducement of life in a more tolerant land, it is not strange that no Irish port had shipping to accommodate prospective adventurers of the lower middle class who would try their fortunes in the western wonder-land.

This rage to emigrate was quite as active in Kilkenny as elsewhere if one may judge from a news-item that seventy labouring families had sold their possessions and taken passage, while hundreds, unable to do likewise, saw them to the quays.[1] Not long afterward, Thomas E. Broderick, a skilled mason of Kilkenny, sailed with his wife, Norah Colbert or Colbreth, for his destination in Washington City at the instigation of a federal agent who sought mechanics for reconstruction work on governmental buildings fired by the British forces in 1814.[2] At any rate, the Brodericks were established on East Capital Street, near the capitol building, when, on March 2, 1820, their child, a month old, was christened David Colbert Broderick in St. Patrick's Church. In all likelihood the infant was born in Washington, February 4, 1820, in accordance

[1] The notes will be found at the end of the article.

with the general understanding, although his friend Father Quigley maintained: "From his own lips D. C. Broderick says he is a native of Kilkenny."[3]

Of the child's early years, nothing is known; but his mother has been portrayed as "a lady of more than usual intelligence, amicable and active." At his zenith Broderick, denying the aspersions of a slave-owning senator who had castigated northern labourers as white slaves and mud-sills, recalled these early years :—

"It is not long since I served an apprenticeship of five years at one of the most laborious mechanical trades pursued by man—a trade that from its nature devotes its followers to thought, but debars them from conversation. I would not have alluded to this if it were not for the remarks of the Senator of South Carolina, and thousands who know that I am a son of an artisan and have been a mechanic, would feel disappointed if I did not reply to him. I am not proud of this . . . . I would that I could have enjoyed the pleasures of life in my boyhood's days; but they were denied to me . . . . I have not the admiration for the men of the class from whence I sprang that might be expected; they are too prone to neglect their rights and duties as citizens . . . . If I were inclined to forget my connection with them or to deny that I sprang from them, this chamber would not be the place in which I could do either. While I hold a seat here, I have but to look at the beautiful capitals adorning the pilasters that support this roof, to be reminded of my father's talent and to see his handiwork."[4]

In about three years Tom Broderick completed his work in Washington and removed to New York, where there were some 20,000 of his countrymen.[5] Here he laid stone until 1834, when he died prematurely worn out by arduous labour and a harsh climate, like so many other recent arrivals in the crowded slums. (For Boston in this period it has been estimated that the average life of Irish immigrants was not over fourteen years.[6]) The partial support of his mother and of Richard, a younger brother, David now ended his schooling in a free institute administered by the Episcopalian Public School Society, later wrecked by Bishop John Hughes, which sought to Americanise foreigners by making them apologetic for their race and creed. After an apprenticeship with a contracting mason whom his father had served, David became a journeyman and plied his trade until the death of his mother

(1842), when a physician's advice caused him to seek less exacting employment. Two years later, on the death of his brother, he as the sole survivor of his family was marked by a melancholy which he could not eradicate and was too proud to conceal.[7]

Unlike most artisans, Broderick, temperate and ambitious, read widely in literature and biography and gained an intimate understanding of men and of the intricacies of local politics through an active membership in the Howard Engine Company, " one of the largest and most respectable in the city," of which he became foreman. Such volunteer fire-fighting clubs, organised along racial lines, maintained headquarters at " porter-houses " which served as neighbourhood political centres. Broderick, as a likable ward-heeler opened the " Subterranean Saloon " about the time that Michael Walsh (1815-1859), late of Youghal and Trinity College, Dublin, was championing the " subterranean democrats " against the nativist and aristocratic Tammany leaders and establishing *The Subterranean*, an ephemeral journal, as his stepping stone to Congress. With the success of this cheap saloon Broderick established a second tavern, "The Republican," as a partisan rendezvous of a higher social degree.

The Tammany Society, which had exploited the Irish vote, was reduced to a defensive position in its fears lest the Irish Catholic element (for whom so little had been done) would be seduced by Whig leaders who were not as yet coloured by bigoted nativism. Broderick, with his following of labouring men, could not be ignored by vote-seeking demagogues of older stock and more respectable connections. For him organised Tammany Democracy found a place in its council as a representative of the Ninth Ward Young Men's Club and afterwards of the Old Men's Committee. At last he was accepted by " true-born Americans " of the stamp of Jonathan D. Stevenson and Townsend Harris of *The Flash*, a sporting magazine of no distinction.

In 1846 Broderick was a delegate from the Ninth Ward to a convention selected to revise the municipal charter.[9] In this year, when President Polk on a visit to New York waited

on the Jersey side of the Hudson River for the official escort on the "Vanderbilt," owned by the capitalistic "Commodore" of that name, Broderick attempted to spirit the president on to a more democratic boat and bring him directly to Tammany Hall. Such capers were not unusual in factional politics. That fall he was the Tammany candidate for Congress. The Hall had given reasonable support in seating John McKeon in Congress (1834, 1840), although he was a Catholic; but McKeon was a respectable lawyer, Columbia College bred, and no publican.[10] Aristocrats refused to support this radical immigrant and, under the name of Regency Democrats, offered a rival candidate, with the result that in a three-cornered race the Whigs elected Frederick Tallmadge, a migrant from Connecticut but no lowly immigrant. Two years later, Broderick was again on the Tammany slate; but he did not run for office in realisation of the violent opposition of socially superior Democrats to a labouring class candidate. His failure to win a congressional seat according to Sickles, later a political general in the Civil War, "was chiefly owing to the prejudice engendered by his humble avocations, by the extreme zeal of his partisanship, and by that tenacious attachment to friends and that stern resistance to foes which characterised him through life." Class and race in this land of liberty, he learned, counted more than political principles—especially when nativism, with its hatred of foreigners and Catholics, was becoming a dominant factor in New York as in other coastal cities.[11]

Deeply disappointed, Broderick decided to join the gold-seekers in California from whence his friend, Colonel Stevenson, now a veteran of the Mexican War, had written enthusiastically: "Come, leave there and try this new land, this Eldorado." Later he explained that he had gone West, because he was weary "of the struggles and jealousies of men of his own class who could not understand why one of their fellows should seek to elevate his condition above the common level." Labouring men were slow to organise, and vainly sought leadership in the upper classes. Sacrificing his properties, Broderick set forth *via* the Panama route of about

6,000 miles and arrived in San Francisco, June 13, 1849, with a determination, according to tradition, never to return East save as "United States Senator from the new and untrammelled state of California."[12] Here he found friends from New York. And in California no one went back of 1849, and soon to have been a Forty-Niner was a permanent badge of distinction.

The new arrival entered an assaying partnership with Frederick Kohler, a jeweller, whom he had known as a fireman in New York. In addition to their regular business, they cast gold slugs for Moffat and Company, actually worth four and eight dollars but passing current at five and ten dollars, as they proved more convenient for miners and storekeepers than nuggets or bags of gold dust. Obviously someone made a profit for a few months, and then the business was sold to Baldwin and Company and the federal government took care of coinage. Kohler became a government assayer and Broderick turned to politics.

In the meantime Bennet Riley, in command as territorial governor, called a convention which drafted a constitution modelled somewhat upon the organic laws of New York and the new state of Iowa and determined that California would be a free state with slavery proscribed. Despite his enthusiastic biographer's insistence that Broderick, then in business in San Francisco, was a delegate from Monterey, his name does not appear in the records of that body; and hence he could have had no direct hand in dedicating the prospective state to freedom.[13] On Christmas Eve of 1849 a disastrous fire, raging through the hastily constructed frame shacks of San Francisco, gave Broderick an opportunity to display his skill. Frequent fires showed the necessity of a volunteer corps of fire-fighters, and so the Empire Company (later Broderick Company) was organised with Broderick as foreman. About this time Nathaniel Bennet resigned his seat in the provisional senate to become an associate judge of the supreme court, and Broderick won the seat by a vote of 2,508 out of 2,609 ballots cast, and entered the upper chamber, January 24, 1850.[14] Evidently he commanded a reliable machine in his constituency.

Aware of the southern opposition in Washington to California's constitution, Broderick, as a sincere opponent of slavery and a proponent of free labour, procured a legislative resolution: "That the opposition to the admission of a state into the Union with a constitution prohibiting slavery, on account of such a prohibition, is a policy wholly unjustifiable and unstatesmanlike and in violation of that concession and compromise by which alone it can be perpetuated." He also managed to table indefinitely a bill by the lower chamber to exclude the entrance into the state of free negroes and persons of colour[15]—probably an unconstitutional measure if tested before the United States Supreme Court. Meanwhile California was finally granted statehood, September 1850, in the famous compromise between southern and northern interests in Congress.

A liberal who could see no man rechained, Broderick successfully fought the federal Fugitive Slave Law—an indication of his violent hostility to slavery even in California, where the absence of slaves made this an academic question although one that eternally agitated the legislature. A believer in free labour, he joined Philip A. Roach, another state senator, in the fight against the "coolie system" of Chinese labour and thus won the hostility of magnates who were profiting from this form of peonage. He introduced a bill to prohibit lotteries, which in amended form became law.[16] Such hostility to the interests of the ruling class made him an object of undying hatred.

On Peter Burnet's resignation of the government, John McDougall, president of the Senate, automatically succeeded, and Broderick in turn was elected presiding officer of the state senate, January 9, 1851. As he had read enough law to be admitted to the bar, he was also chosen clerk of the supreme court. With little exertion he was re-elected to the senate in 1852. In May of this year, he was a delegate to the first state Democratic convention at Benicia and was named a member of the state central committee, of which he later became chairman. Thereafter he was the political boss of the anti-slavery wing of the party. His activity, however, shaped the

politics rather than the laws of the state, for his talents were in the management of men.

A reputation for greater loyalty and honesty than his associates or his opponents saved Broderick from charges of corruption by aggressive Southerners when the legislature passed the Beach and Water Lot Bill enabling the city to sell properties along the water-front with little advantage to the treasury because of brazen frauds. While apparently not involved in this scandal, Broderick was a heavy purchaser of these lands at auction and was growing wealthy in real-estate speculation at a time when booming property values made fortunes almost over night. On the destruction of the city hall by fire, June 1851, Broderick and others sponsored a bill through the legislature which authorised the city council to purchase the Jenny Lind Theatre for $200,000. Charges of corruption were loud against the city " step-fathers " ; and Broderick did not pass unscathed, for the " Jenny Lind Swindle " was costly, especially in view of necessary repairs for a building which was inadequate within two or three years. Yet the state supreme court, in a test case, decided in favour of the council's action.[17]

On the expiration of John C. Frémont's term in the United States Senate, March 4, 1851, Broderick opposed John B. Weller, a former Congressman from Ohio and an officer in the Mexican War, who finally was chosen, in 1852, by the state legislature on the eighth ballot but not without a compromise. Immediately Broderick commenced to campaign for William McKendree Gwin's seat, which would not become available until 1855. Gwin, a former Congressman from Mississippi, controlled the Southern Democrats of California through federal patronage. As a result of this political fight, Democracy was split into a " chivalry " faction and into a Northern wing composed of anti-slavery and labouring men of northern native, Irish and German stock. Nor did either side hesitate to strengthen its barricades by patronage, bribery, and violence in what came to be described as the Gwin-Broderick war.

Broderick relentlessly pursued his course ; never unduly elated by prosperity, he could stand adversity. The Democratic

state convention at Sacramento in the summer of 1854 named two opposing slates of state officers. In the general election the "chivalry" Democrats polled 37,500 votes, Broderick's faction 10,000, and the Whigs, though dying as a national party, 35,000. Yet Broderick's machine managed to defeat a number of Gwin-men for the legislature, with the result that when that body balloted on candidates for the United States senatorship, Broderick's supporters were able to prevent a majority for their opponent in thirty-eight ballots. This deadlock of a month left the state represented by only one senator. To strengthen his position and to counteract the hostility of the press, Broderick purchased the *Alta California* as a personal organ.[18]

In the meantime, corruption, easy wealth, intolerance, class hostilities and murderous partisanship led to a reign of terror under the employers' Vigilance Committee with its boasted purpose of reforming San Francisco in spite of itself. James King, a heavy loser when Adams and Company failed, became editor of the *Daily Evening Bulletin* (October 1855) in which he attacked "David Cataline Broderick" for dishonesty and corruption of elections and Broderick's henchmen --especially James Casey, editor of the *Sunday Times*, whose arrest in his youth in New York on a charge of larceny was unfairly publicised. Broderick was too prudent to challenge at law these denunciations—especially in the partisan courts of California, in the heat of Know-Nothingism. Casey demanded redress, which was not forthcoming, and thereupon shot King to death. For this Casey and Cora, a gambler, were lynched by the vigilantes. Broderick did not hesitate any more than the average political boss to use such characters, some of whom were compelled to flee the state. He valiantly fought the self-righteous but extra-legal Vigilance Committee which ordered his arrest or rather seizure, July 19, 1855, but postponed action indefinitely.[19]

Democratic factionism paved the way for the secret American or Know-Nothing Party, with its anti-foreign and anti-Catholic planks, which temporarily dominated state politics by drawing into its ranks Nativists, Whigs, and anti-Broderick

Democrats. It would purify politics, elect native-born Protestants to office, and rid the community of Broderick's domination. Yet when the Know-Nothings won control of the state in 1856, politics remained unreformed. This artificial party named as its candidate for the senatorship Henry Foote, a former governor of Mississippi who had missed an election to the United States Senate from that State by one vote. Again he lost by a single vote, for Broderick and Gwin together were powerful enough to obstruct the selection of any candidate, even as in a normally constituted legislature either one could stop the other.

Senator Weller's term would expire on March 3, 1857, with the result that the next legislature should name two senators. In fear that control might pass to a coalition of the Know-Nothing and new Republican forces, the Democratic Party patched its internecine differences and entered the national and state elections of 1856 with a single ticket. It was agreed that Gwin should be elected to one of the senatorial seats and that Gwin and Broderick would co-operate in defeating Weller, who was to be replaced by Broderick. In view of this bargain, Broderick actively campaigned the state for James G. Buchanan for president and for his whole ticket. A united Democracy was victorious against the Whig-Know-Nothing-Republican combination.

The legislature of 1857, as a result, had a substantial Democratic majority. The three recognised candidates for the two senatorial places were cunning politicians with no hesitation about seizing any advantage, fair or foul. Broderick attempted to barter with Weller for the six-year term for himself in exchange for allowing Weller the necessary votes for the short term of which two years had elapsed during the vacancy; but the latter demanded a return to his own seat with its full term of years. On the ninth ballot for this seat Broderick won over Weller by 42 to 34 votes. Thereupon Gwin, in a midnight interview, agreed in writing to surrender the state's federal patronage to Broderick for his support against a field of several aspirants for the remaining seat. Gwin was named the following day. He had recognised Broderick

as the boss of the state machine. As to the boss, "sitting in his silent, solitary room in San Francisco, his wizard mind went forth . . . until the whole state was filled with the breadth of his power."[21] To silence charges of a corrupt bargain, Gwin issued an address in which he maintained, with avowed candour, that his difficulty in winning the election was due to enemies made by his failure to obtain governmental offices for them, that he was resigning his patronage, and that his election was due to a large degree to Broderick, whom he described as a manly opponent in the struggle that had unfortunately weakened the party. Gwin was soon to violate his agreement and manage Buchanan's appointments in California.[22] For the moment, however, both men were friendly and journeyed together to Washington *via* the Panama-New York route. In New York, Broderick renewed old friendships. He had come back a United States Senator.

Broderick's election was as well taken throughout the North as in San Francisco, for it was believed that his devious methods were merely those which prevailed in California of the mining frontier and that much of the bitterness against him was attributable to his determined stand for free labour. The *New York Herald* expressed this attitude :—

"The election of Broderick and Gwin, notwithstanding the efforts to impugn the honour and good name of both, gives universal satisfaction to men of all parties . . . Perhaps one of the most singular circumstances of the Senatorial contest, ended by the election of these gentlemen, is the unanimous congratulations accorded to Mr. Broderick on his success by the American, Republican and Democratic press. They all recognize in him what every unprejudiced mind must acknowledge, that he has incessantly laboured for justice and honest legislation ; and while struggling singlehanded and alone against the most powerful organization to crush him, he displayed admirable qualities of firmness and perseverance, which finally were crowned with success. Mr. Broderick is one of the very few public men in California against whom no charge of corruption or malfeasance in office was ever brought, and in the Senate of the United States he will stand out as one of the honestest, most useful and worthiest members of that exalted assembly."[23]

Entering the Senate as a loyal follower of Buchanan and a friend of Gwin, he soon distrusted, with ample cause, both

men and their policies. Buchanan favoured Gwin at every turn and lavished patronage on his friends, while Broderick, on refusal to make written applications for appointments, received no attention. In the Senate he was diligent, frank in debate, honest in voting, and determined to make a record as a statesman. To the outstanding historian of this period, James Ford Rhodes, Broderick appeared on a high plane :—

"In Washington, Broderick stood high. The purity of his life and his scrupulous honesty, associated with pride, energy, and ambition, commanded respect from men of both sections and of all parties. Fearless and frank, the serious and reflective cast of this man, alone in the world, without relatives or family, was an added charm for those who knew best his early circumstances. One cannot but wonder whether, had fortune bestowed upon him opportunities for education in an environment of refining influences, his career might not have been an unalloyed benefaction to his country."

Broderick voted against a bill for the surveying of public and private lands in California, which however became law and provided lucrative fees for surveyors. He concerned himself with the improvement of the Mare Island Navy Yard, voted to aid survivors of an Indian massacre on the Oregon Trail, favoured the construction of a road to Oregon by the War Department rather than by the Interior Department, favoured the payment of the residents of the Frémont claims, urged a road from Albuquerque to the Colorado River, demanded a reduction of unnecessary and costly Indian agencies in California, called attention to the desirability of the shorter New Orleans rail route to California, condemned post-office extravagance, decried the gross irregularities and defaults in the customs and assaying services, and questioned the War Department's purchase of a site for a fort in California at an enormous over-evaluation. In general, Gwin opposed him on behalf of the office-holders, yet Broderick unsuccessfully urged Gwin's appointment to the Committee on Public Lands in order that their state might have a voice on railroad bills.[24] Such an economy complex was not popular, but it was on the Kansas question that he broke with President Buchanan and joined forces with Stephen A. Douglas, the actual leader of the Northern Democrats.

In his maiden speech Senator Broderick declared that he had never been tainted with abolitionist Free Soilism and that, in the New York Democratic Convention of 1847, his group had refused a promise of all the state offices in return for its support of the Wilmot Resolution. Yet he could not accept the Lecompton Convention's constitution imposing slavery upon Kansas against the sovereign will of a majority of the settlers of that territory. For the civil disorders and bloodshed he held Buchanan's policies responsible, as he declared that never before had a president attempted " to coerce the people into a base submission to the will of an illegalized body of men."[25]

Three months later Broderick denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), with its repeal of the old Missouri Compromise line of 1820, which the South had forced through. By this repeal the South, though temporarily satisfied, had received nothing. Slavery would not be accepted north of that line. Yet slavery had been made a fighting question in all territories that would seek statehood. This repeal had removed the barrier and would let in, on the South's feeble and decaying institutions, millions of free labourers espousing northern ideas. By forcing the Lecompton Constitution, the South again would lose in victory. The administration might purge Democrats who voted against the bill, but he (Broderick) would warn the administration that it take heed lest the Party rule out the administration. It has no right to lay down tests of loyalty; only the Democratic masses have that right. Four-fifths of the pioneers in Kansas, he believed, opposed this constitution written in fraud of which Buchanan was not ignorant. This attempt to force slavery upon the people would be ascribed by the future historian to the " fading intellect, the petulant passion and trembling dotage of an old man on the verge of the grave." Violent but honest and courageous was Broderick's powerful address.[26]

The bill passed the Senate, only Douglas, Broderick, Stuart of Michigan and Pugh of Ohio voting against the administration. Broderick is said to have imparted courage to Douglas—even to keeping him in line with a threat to denounce him to the country if he failed.[27] Certainly he was

his right hand man, and Broderick won fame in the North and a place in the counsels of Republican anti-slavery leaders.

On the adjournment of Congress, both Gwin and Broderick returned to California to take part in a stirring state election at a time when the nation was drifting toward Civil War. Broderick was angered by a resolution of the legislature condemning him for his attack upon Buchanan and the Lecompton scheme to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave state which Gwin had supported.[28] Factionism and sectionalism were violent. The anti-Lecompton faction named John Currey for governor; the Southern Lecomptonites, M. S. Lapham; and the Republicans, Leland Stanford, who was destined to become a figure in politics and big business. Broderick took the stump against the Buchanan-Southern machine, so oiled by federal patronage that the Customs House was called the "Virginia Poor House." He defended his party loyalty, answered charges with bitter personal attacks, and walked into a trap to force him into a duel as a means of his elimination. Nowhere, save in Bleeding Kansas, was intense strife so likely to lead to bloodshed. As Broderick had engaged in two duels and promoted two others, he was certain to accept a challenge.[29]

David S. Terry, Chief Justice, of the state supreme court and a defeated candidate for re-nomination in the convention, said Broderick's followers call themselves Douglas Democrats, but they are sailing under the banner of the Black Douglas [Frederick A. Douglas, a distinguished negro]. A few days later Broderick, in the presence of Judge Terry's friend D. W. Perley, called Terry a miserable wretch whom he, at considerable personal danger and at a cost of $200 per week to obtain the support of a newspaper, had saved from the Vigilantes who charged him with knifing a man. Broderick refused Perley's challenge as that of a British subject of lower status and declared that he would not accept any challenge until after the election. He insisted publicly upon the withdrawal of an earlier testimonial in which he had depicted Terry as the only honest man on the bench of the state supreme court. At the election, September 7, the Lecomptonites won by a heavy

majority. The next day Terry, after descending from his judicial seat, submitted his demand for satisfaction for what Broderick had said two months earlier in the heat of the campaign. The cause was slight for pistols at ten paces ; and the judge thought little of violating the laws he had sworn to maintain.

Broderick accepted the challenge rather than face the sneers of his enemies and the contempt of his supporters in a region where guns ended many disputes and " lead-poisoning " was no infrequent cause of death. At their first meeting both men were arrested, but charges were dismissed as there had been no violation of the anti-duelling statute of 1855. On the following morning, September 13, 1859, they met on a farm occupied by William Higgins, of San Mateo County. Broderick's pistol, more delicate of trigger, went off prematurely and the shot struck the ground in front of Judge Terry, who thereupon aimed carefully and shot his human target in the chest.[30] Severely wounded, Broderick's condition grew worse, and within three days he expired a martyr to the anti-slavery and liberal causes, muttering (it was reported) : " They killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery and a corrupt administration."[31] After a farcical trial, Terry was acquitted ; but so marked was local bitterness that he never regained popularity to the day of his suicide. Toward the end, Senator Broderick was reconciled to the Catholic Church and received the last Sacraments at the hands of Father Anthony Maraschi, S.J., of Santa Clara College.[32]

On September 18, 1859, in the public plaza, there were the most imposing obsequies that California had ever witnessed as Senator Baker of Oregon, a self-made immigrant from London, delivered a stirring but incendiary eulogy[33] before the open casket :—

> He rose unaided and alone ; he began his career without family or fortune . . . he inherited poverty and obscurity ; he died a Senator in Congress, having written his name in the history of the great struggle for the rights of the people against the despotism of organization and the corruption of power . . . . Who now can speak for California ? Who can be the interpreter of the wants of the Pacific Coast ? Who can appeal to the communities of the Atlantic, who love free labour ?

Who can speak for the masses of men with a passionate love for the classes whence he sprang ? Who can defy the blandishments of power . . . the corruption of administrations ?

The solemn procession of mourners, pioneers and firemen advanced to Lone Mountain Cemetery, where Father Hugh P. Gallagher,[34] the most popular priest on the Pacific Slope, read prayers at the unconsecrated grave over which admirers, with state-aid, erected a monument during the Civil War when the causes championed by Broderick were popular even to hysteria and when his name had become a synonym for love of the war-torn Union.

When notice of Broderick's death reached New York, there were further ceremonies with an oration by John W. Dwinnelle. In conformity with congressional custom, his Democratic successor, Henry P. Haun, on February 13, 1860, formally announced Broderick's death and sketched his career as illustrative of " the beauty of our American institutions in opening the avenue of elevation equally to all, whether the high or the humble in origin."[35]

A sturdy figure who "ruled leaders and ordered his successors," Broderick, while a man of unbending will in carrying out his decisions, was a leader whose " high moral character begot universal respect," whose " private life bore the character of one of the most exemplary of men," and whose " generous heart and open hand attracted and attached to him a host of devoted and admiring friends." Thereupon the Senate voted that its members wear a mourning band on the arm for thirty days and adjourned to hear the eulogies of spokesmen of the House and Senate. Space does not allow me to quote more than two brief extracts from these eulogies. Isaac Morris of Illinois, referring to Broderick's tragically short term as Senator, said : " In two short years his state reputation was swallowed up by a national one and his name became a household word throughout this vast Republic." And John Hickman of Pennsylvania, summing up his characteristic work as a political leader, said : " His consecration to the interests of the farmer, the mechanic and the labourer was complete. Their loss is irreparable and I would bid them know it."

A product of turbulent California politics, Broderick did not spurn unscrupulous political methods. At heart he was sound. He fought for free labour against entrenched capitalism, then an unforgivable offence. Unlike most Irish politicians, he was an anti-slavery man and renounced Buchanan without an espousal of Lincoln-Republican principles. His name was a force in the general election of 1860 and, certainly, in Lincoln's triumph in California.[38] In the minds of his friends and anti-slavery crusaders, he died heroically for the cause of freedom.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

NOTES

[1] *Kilkenny Moderator*, Apr. 24, 1818.

[2] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1774-1927 (1928), 729.

[3] Vital records of St. Patrick's Church ; Judah Delano, *City Directory of Washington* (1822) ; M. A. Hickey, " Irish Catholics in Washington," ms. master's essay (1933), Catholic University ; Hugh Quigley, *Irish Race in California* (1881) 298 ; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI (1888), 305, 659 gives both Washington and Kilkenny.

[4] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess. (Mar. 22, 1858) App. 193 ; W. G. Sherwin *A Tribute to Broderick* (1881), 3.

[5] For the Irish element in New York, see chapters on immigration by the writer in A. C. Flick and D. R. Fox (eds.), *History of New York*, VII (1936), also his " Irish Cultural Contribution in Early New York," *Catholic Educational Review*, Oct., 1937, Jan., 1938, and sketch of John Hughes in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[6] Merle Curti, *The Social Ideals of American Educators* (1935), 97.

7. Some items concerning this period may be gained from the eulogies of Congressmen Haskin and Sickles, *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 752 f. This would indicate no unique error in the *Biog. Directory of Congress*, 739, 1174, in describing him as a cousin of Congressman Case Broderick (1839-1920) and Andrew Kennedy (1810-47).

[8] *D.A.B.*, 19(1936) 390 ; *Biog. Directory of Congress*, 1663.

[9] *Amendment to the Charter of New York City*, 1846.

[10] *Biog. Directory of Congress*, 1268.

[11] See L. D. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (1901).

[12] Sickles, *loc. cit.* ; Jeremiah Lynch, *A senator of the Fifties* (1911) 8, upon which I have leaned as well as upon R. C. O'Connor's sketch in the *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society, XIII (1914), 132 f., and a ms. master's essay (1934) at the Catholic University, by Matthew M. Cunningham, O.S.A., under the writer's direction. See, Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (1872-77), II, 551.

[13] Lynch, *op. cit.*, 51 ; J. R. Browne (ed.), *Reports of the Debates in the Convention of California* (1850). See R. D. Hunt, *The Genesis of California's First Constitution* (1895).

[14] Z. S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, II (1912), 595 ; T. H. Hittell, *History of California* (1897), III, 360, IV, 142.

[15] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 321 ; Hittell, *op. cit.*, II, 806, IV, 151.

[16] Hittell, *op. cit.*, II, 400, IV, 69, 98, 185 ; Hittell, *History of San Francisco* (1878), 281 f., for his political activities. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 645.

[17] Hittell, *op. cit.*, II, 409, IV, 97. Broderick lived frugally, probably spent heavily in campaigning, and died a relatively poor man.

[18] Hittell, *op. cit.*, IV, 96, 134, 144 f., 152 f. ; James O'Meara, *Broderick and Gwin* (1881) ; F. Tuthill, *History of California* (1866) 416 f. ; J. P. Young, *Journalism in California* (1916), 100.

[19] Young, *op. cit.*, 26, 44; Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 469, 529, 619, IV, 194; R. D. Hunt and Sanchez, *A Short History of California* (1929) 443 f.; Anna McAllister, *Ellen Ewing, Wife of General Sherman* (1936), 145 f.; E. McGowan, *Narrative of his Adventures and Perils While Persecuted by Vigilance Committee* (1857).

[20] Hittell, *op. cit.*, IV, 185; Peyton Hunt, "Rise of Know Nothings," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Mar., June, 1930.

[21] Senator Burlingame, *Cong. Globe*, XXIX, 733.

[22] Hittell, *op. cit.*, IV, 201 f.; Tuthill, *op. cit.*, 545 f.; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 1850-1877, II (1904), 366.

[23]. Mar. 15, 1857. See also editorial in *Evening Star* (Washington), Feb. 13, 1857. For following quotation, Rhodes, *op. cit.*, II, 376.

[24] Hittell, *op. cit.*, IV, 210 f., 217; *Cong. Globe*, Vols. 27 and 28 for about two score references.

[25] Dec. 23, 1857; *Cong. Globe*, XXVII, 163.

[26] Mar. 22, 1858, *Cong. Globe*, XXVII: App., 191.

[27] Of these three Democrats, and Pugh later deserted, who dared follow Douglas despite Buchanan's threats, purges, contracts, money and patronage, "staunchest was David Broderick, an eloquent magnetic newcomer from California who clove to the Little Giant, and his battle brought him fame—and death." G. F. Milton, *The Eve of the Conflict* (1934), 275, 287. "Broderick . . . remained steadfast and earnest. Forney regarded him as the soul of the little party; Wilson speaks of him as ever brave and true; and Seward wrote that the moral influence of Stuart and Broderick, especially Broderick, was prodigious." Rhodes, *op. cit.*, II, 300, 305.

[28] Two years later this resolution was expunged from the journals. Broderick was aware of his danger, declaring to Representative John W. Forney as he was leaving for California: "I feel, my dear friend, that we shall never meet again. I go home to die, I shall be challenged, I shall fight, and I shall be killed." Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men*, I, 27.

[29] Letter of Philip A. Roach of San Francisco to Jefferson Davis, July 25, 1859: Broderick "in pursuing personal attacks on his opponents is following the course best suited to the interests of his party; for it awakens old rivalries among old leading men who imagine that they were cheated in various bygone contests . . . . B's friends say that he will fight but not until after election." Rowland Dunbar (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers, and Speeches* (1923), IV, 92.

[30] Hittell, *op. cit.*, IV, 213 f., 225 f., 332; Hunt, *op. cit.*, 469 f.; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 725 f., 736. *The San Francisco Herald*, though a Buchanan paper, gave a fair account of the duel and its aftermath, Sept. 13-18, 1859. Isabelle Saxon, *Five Years within the Golden Gate* (London, 1868), 15 f., 102; Rhodes, *op. cit.*, II, 330 f.

[31] See Baker's oration; Hittell, *op. cit.*, IV, 228; denied in Hittell's *San Francisco*, 309. Alexander Crittenden in a letter to Senator Crittenden, Sept. 18, in Crittenden Papers (Library of Congress), held it was merely a political quarrel and that only Terry's avowed enemies, Gwin and Weller, could benefit from the death of Broderick, whose chief enemies were also opponents of Terry. Active Republicans in critical states feared similar attacks. W. E. Smith, *The Blair Family in Politics*, I (1933), 490. The North was shocked; papers denounced Terry; Gwin and the Buchanan machine; Buchanan protested his innocence; politicians who favoured popular sovereignty went about armed. Milton, *op. cit.*, 391.

[32] *New York Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 22, 1859.

[33] *Oration of Col. Edward D. Baker over the Dead Body of David C. Broderick* (1889) 12 f., of which the *San Francisco Herald* (Sept. 19) said: "We do not believe anything so utterly reprehensive in taste and tone has ever fallen from the lips of that advocate."

[34] Sketch by R. J. Purcell in *D.A.B.*, VII (1931) 102. The *San Francisco Herald* quoted the local *Catholic Monitor's* explanation why a duellist could not be interred in consecrated ground and hence the interment in this Protestant cemetery.

[35] For these eulogies more sincere than ordinarily, *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. (Feb. 13, 1860), XXIX, 748 f.

[36] Blaine, *op. cit.*, 141.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LI

CHRIST LIVES AGAIN

TAOIS Ó Ó hUIGINN ecc.

1. Slán ar n-a mharbadh mac Dé
amhlaidh sin ar sia a buaintéi ;
ní cár mar do-chuaid a corp ;
fuair bár agus fuair furtocht.

2. Mac Dé gur doirteadh a fúil
nír daingnigh i n-a dúthaigh ;
do learaigh bár Dé an domhan
do fár ré dar flánogadh.

3. D'éir a marbtha ir mó a neart
Criosd ar ar cumadh ainbeart ;
ré ar maitain act gé mharaidh,
marbtair é re hIodhalaidh.

4. An Dall ar ngabáil a ga
tug ar Criosd cneadh a marbtha ;
tar éir fulachtaidh dé dó
cumhachtaidh an té tearnó.

5. Rí nach fuil ri ga nochtain
ir chreidte dá chumachtaibh ;
ní ri cneardha act an tí tá
'r an tí tearnadh nach tearnadh.

6. Gé fuair bár do bheith Iodhal
ní héidir é d'aithríghadh ;
a-tá ré biaidh ir do bí
ar liaigh é ir ar n-airdrí.

7. [A] glacadh dóibh—dia do chion !—
damadh áil leir ní leigfidh ;
mac Dé fa mac do mhaighdin
nír bac é dá eargcairdibh.

8. Mairt do-finneadh i fiocht uile
marbadh Dé dána an iodhuirt ;
beart ar áille ar dteacht ar-teach,
beart ar ghráinne don ghairgeadh.

9. Do-finneadh Críord do chroćadh ;
tuigfead—truagh an t-ordoćadh !—
fhéir i n-obair na hAoine
d'éir choghair na Céadaoine.

10. Na cúig cáir déag doirb an fháir
fuair Críord do choghar luidhir ;
na cúig cáir déag a-déaruinn
fa fháir chéad nach cuimhnéaghuinn.

11. An céadćár díoh fa Dar-Daoin
d'eagla meadhla agus míoghaoil
allar fala deirge Dé,
bara na ceilge cuige.

12. An dara cár chuaidh an bheach ;
mar do bí Críord i gcuidheach,
mac Dé nir fhéaghadair air
'r do fhéanadair é a adhrtail.

13. An tres cár a-déaram de
ceithre luit na dtrí dtairnge,
gona a ghéaghonn, gona a bor
gona nach éadtrom othor.

14. Ní raibe ball dá ballaib
—cár oile dá iodlannaib—
nar tairngead re chroir dá gcur
re coir tairngead dá chollad.

15. Gan fhoinn rochruide acht ré a-máin
tar éis adhrtail dá fhághail
tarla ré ag fluagh an domain
mar uan é idir fhaolchonuib.

16. Tar éis a gona don ga
do dhuail air tearbach tarta ;
a iota agus mé dá mear
nár ioca mé acht le maitheas.

17. Domlas aoi damna a dige
is fion dob olc inibe ;
ocas dige feisbe fin
eidbe nime aga naimdib.

18. Caoiss Dia fa a deascraib féin
is fa cloinn Adaim ainnréin ;
caoi fin gan dlaoi ar a déanuib
do bad caoi fir aitméalaig.

19. " Créad fas fágbais, a acais,
mé " ar Criosd " roir ciontacaib
i bpianuib nac peannuid dog
fa riaguil neambuig náimad ? "

20. A-dubairt Dia 'n-a diaid roin :
" gab an t-anamra, a acoir ;
io láim a-tú dá ciomna
tú ar brái is tú ar dtigearna."

21. " Diultaim dom cumacta i gcli "
do rái ainnréin an t-airdri
" 's do clannaib Adaim uile
nac tárruid ar dtrócuire."

22. Ni friot 'n-a diaid déar fola
i gcorp Criosd gér comroga
mac Dé gan anam gan fuil
ré 's a calann 'n-a créactuib.

23. Neim na gcréactrain—cruaid an tseinm—
ráinig i n-ioctar Israinn,
ráinig ar neam reacta roin
's ar fead an beacta braonuig.

24. Doimne a cnead do bad cár te,
tsoltad compair a croide,
tsoltad leasg mbán a dá bonn,
agus clár ndeasg a déagnonn.

25. Nir áirmeamar rin go re
a cneada ón coróin sbine
dar cuir cumgac ar a ceann,
fer muid cumdac a cuirleann.

26. Sé gona 'r a deic ar Dia,
ré céad iot ar mac Maria,
ré line do bean a broid,
ré míle cnead ar caogaid.

27. Már fior d'eolcaib ir iad rin
cúig cáir déag an Dúilim ;
maiteamh na dtrí gcár fa cóig
dá grár go dtí ón Trionóid.

28. An breat peacta fugad air
a-tá ar ceann cloinne hAdaim ;
dá mbé an cárra i n-ar gcinne
grára Dé dar ndídinne.

29. Ionmuin le Dia na daoine,
ní grád do ceann cumaoine ;
má tá cleatrám ir ré rin
leatgrád Dé do na daoinib.

30. A ndearnamar ir a ndéanmaid
re Dia cionnur cúitéagmuid ?
ionrád námaid an fíog finn,
dar ndíon tánaig a tuitim.

31. Nirb fiu rin rluag na cruinne
tuitim íora eadruinne ;
gá dtám act do tuit feirion ;
an lám do luit leigiriod.

32. Nac truag, a daoine an domain,
páirt agaib re hÍodalaib ?
truag a roiurad do teact trí
beart lubal ar an Airdrí.

33. Íomáig Criord ar bur gcomair
ir follur go bracaidair ;
ní cumuin lib cli an céaraid
do-ci rib 'n-a roiléaraib.

34. Uiríre marbta mic Dé
—mairg ar a bruil an finné—
do rgaoil cranngal na croice
daoib adbar na hurnaice.

35. Ag rin ar Criorð na cneadha,
ag ro na trí taitneadha,
mór a-nos nimh 'n-a romhla
ag rin an chros chomhnta.

36. Féach a chomhoin fa n-a ceann
—ní Criorðaidhe nach creidheann ;
is fiadhnaise do-ní nimh
an fí it fiadhnaise d'faicsin.

37. A-tá fúinn cneadh an choidhe
nach iadhann tre fhiochmuine,
's an fuil dheargh tar a dorghar,
fa dhuil fearg is faltonar.

38. A-támaoidh—truagh an mhalairt !—
ar ron Criorð i gcontadhairt ;
ní féidir liom lágh 'n-a fuil
's a-tám i ngioll re a gonaidh.

39. Mé ar cionntach ar cionn an tseoil ;
maith ar a dhuil an feitheoir
mac Dé 'n-a dhreitheamh léir lom
's é féin ['n-a] feitheamh orom.

40. Go dtuga Dia 'n-a dhiaidh roin
do chloinn Éadha agus Ádhamh
fáilte i ndeaghaidh gach dála,
flainte d'fearaibh earlána. Slán.

41. Slánaighthear ar ron Muire
neach nach tuar an trócuire ;
maith dúinn nar dhligh a dhearlámh
fúil ar nimh is neimhearlán. Slán.

Translation

1. Alive again after death is God's Son—the longer shall be His long reign ! No (real) calamity was what happened His body ; it died but was rescued (from death).

2. God's Son was not firmly established in His realm till His blood was shed. His death saved the world ; He had been born for our salvation.

3. After His death, Christ, the victim of injustice, is more powerful than ever ; He now lives and yet He was once slain by the Jews.

4. The Blind Man took up a lance and gave Christ His death-wound ; yet He who died after suffering from this (blow) makes him powerful (?) (in Heaven).

5. King beyond all kings' rivalry—we should trust in His power; there is no true king but the King who lives, and after dying dies not.

6. Though He died sentenced by the Jews, He can not be dethroned; He is, will be, and ever was; He is our curer and our High-king.

7. His seizure by them—Oh what a crime!—He could have prevented; He, Son of God and of the Virgin let His foes do this.

8. 'Twas a good thing in guise of an evil thing, the slaying of God—dread sacrifice! a most noble work was our salvation (yet) the most abominable deed of arms.

9. Christ was crucified; after the treacherous plotting of Wednesday the Jews decided on the deed of Friday—terrible event!

10. The Fifteen Sorrows—dread suffering!—which came on Christ from Judas' plotting—why should I not recall those Fifteen Sorrows which I shall tell of in His Passion?

11. The first of them was on Thursday; through dread of His betrayal and the ingratitude of His folk there broke out the sweat of God's red blood, a presage of His coming betrayal.

12. The second sorrow was a hard trial; when Christ was in chains, the Apostles had no regard for Him and denied Him.

13. Of its third sorrow I shall mention the four wounds of the three nails, the wounds in His feet and hands, wounds heavy with torture.

14. There was no limb of Him—this was another of His pains—which was not stretched along the Cross up to the nails and then pierced.

15. With few followers, left alone after His Apostles had abandoned Him, He was in the power of the world's host as a lamb among wolves.

16. After being pierced by the lance, He was seized with burning thirst; may I reflect on that thirst and alleviate it by good deeds.

17. Gall was His drink and undrinkable wine; Heaven's Lord captured by His foes was as a wounded man taking a bitter draught.

18. God lamented over His own sorrows and over the fate of Adam's race; it was the lament—tears unchecked—of a heart-broken man.

19. "Why hast Thou, O Father, abandoned me here among sinners," said Christ, "in pains—'tis a terrible punishment!—and beneath my foes' cruel power?"

20. And then He said: "Receive my soul, O Father; into Thy hand I bequeath it—Thou are my prophet and lord."

21. Then said the High-King: "I resign my bodily strength and I renounce all of Adam's race whom my work of mercy has not won." (?)

22. Thereafter not a drop of blood was to be found in the body of Christ, the Son of God, lifeless and bloodless, and His flesh all wounded—though 'twas His own choice.

23. The smart of those wounds made itself felt—painful its swift progress!—through the depths of Hell and then through Heaven and through all the dewy world.

24. A burning affliction was the depth of His wounds, the bursting of His breast, the splitting of His feet's white skin and His hands' reddened palms.

25. And as yet I have said naught of His wounding by the thorny crown by which He had His head compressed, and by which the covering of His veins was burst.

26. On God, Mary's Son, were sixteen wounds and six hundreds and fifty-six thousand; they saved the Six Generations from ruin.

27. These, according to the wise men, were the Fifteen Sorrows of the Creator; may the Trinity in love grant me pardon for (inflicting) those Fifteen Sorrows.

28. The condemnation passed on Him stands against Adam's race; if it be brought against us, may God's favour guard us!

29. Mankind enjoys God's love—no love for gain sake! If there is any inequality about it, it is that God gets only a half-love from men.

30. How can we atone to God for our sins, those of the past and the present? With justice are we called foes of the King, and yet His death came about by trying to save us!

31. The host of the world deserved not that Christ should die among us; yet He did so die; may He cure the hand that slew Him!

32. O men of the world, is it not sad that ye join with the Jews, sad that the Jews' move against the Lord should be directed by you!

33. Ye have surely seen before your eyes the image of Christ; ye remember not the tortured body; now in its bright (cured) state it watches you!

34. So sublime was the Son of God's death that it has caused the wood of the Cross to be distributed (over the world) to inspire your prayer; alas for all against whom it stands as witness!

35. Behold the wounds on Christ, the three nails, the Cross with the crown on it; great even yet is the pain pictured by it.

36. Every Christian believes in Him; behold then His crown on His head; to see the King thus placed before you is a testimony that pains thee.

37. Before us is the wound in His heart kept open through (God's) wrath, and the red blood welling up over its edge; (God's) anger and vengeance is stirred at the sight of that blood.

38. Owing to Christ we are in greater danger than ever—sad the return we make! We can not atone for His blood and we are responsible for His wounds.

39. I am guilty after all; alas therefore that I am attacked by the prosecutor, God's Son, who is not merely a clear-seeing accurate judge, but prosecutor as well!

40. But in spite of all, may God give a welcome to the children of Adam and Eve at the end of their course, and may He cure all afflicted men.

41. For Mary's sake the man who deserves no mercy is saved; sad is our case for we have no right to be at His right-hand, yet our hope of Heaven is not ruined!

NOTES

MS.: O'Con. Don's Bk. **57.** Readings departed from are below. *2b.* ní *4c.* -cuiġ. *d.* -cuiġ. *7a.* aġ. *12d.* eaрrtoiḋ. *13a.* -oeaṁa. *b.* ṫoc. *15b.* -rtoiḋ. *25a.* aiṁeaman. *26d.* ċaoġaṫ.

MICHAEL STAPLETON: DUBLIN STUCCODORE

BY C. P. CURRAN, M.A.

IN a recent article[1] on certain foreign influences affecting our Dublin plaster-work of the eighteenth century I had occasion to make passing reference to Michael Stapleton. His name is entered in Dublin directories from 1777 and twice in the records of the Georgian Society, where mention is made of his work in Powerscourt House and in the Examination Hall of Trinity College. Otherwise, though he was the most considerable artist in his *genre* at work here in the last quarter of the century, his name and work are hardly known. The iniquity of oblivion has scattered her poppies more blindly over these eighteenth century stuccodores than they themselves flung flowers upon our ceilings. But in this, Stapleton is in no worse case than his fellow-craftsmen, the anonymity that in general attaches to their work being further deepened by the disappearance of their guild-books. Being a Catholic, Stapleton was excluded from the Guild of St. Bartholomew, and his career has, therefore, a secondary interest in illustrating the state of the guilds in his century.

Dr. Webb has clearly exposed the decadence in which, with the notable exception of the Goldsmiths, these guilds lay in the eighteenth century.[2] In the popular memory they survive, riding the franchises in traditional pageantry or on a pleasant summer's evening, as Sheridan le Fanu describes them, ' dining in a grand wainscoted back-parlour, with the great and good King William in his robe, garter, periwig and sceptre presiding in the panel over the chimney-piece.' A different picture of them is presented in the Report of the Municipal Corporation Commission that sealed their fate in 1835. By that time they had long ceased to maintain the monopoly and exclusive exercise of their crafts which had once been so jealously

[1] " Cesare Ripa and the Dublin Stuccodores " in *Studies*, June 1939.
[2] *The Guilds of Dublin*, 1929.

guarded. With the growing wealth and consciousness of the Catholic community it is fairly certain—as Dr. Webb says—that large numbers or even a majority of the Dublin merchants and craftsmen carried on their trade or craft outside and independent of guild regulations. Not merely did builder and painter intrude upon the plasterer, as is evidenced by the double and treble description attached to many names in the directories—I instance the cases of Daniel Bowes, Patrick Connolly, Patrick Grehan, William Morton, Thomas Manders James McCullagh, William Ringwood, Francis Ryan, Thomas Ring and William Smith—but within the guilds themselves a more grotesque situation had developed. Outsiders with no vocational qualification whatever were freely admitted throughout the century. In the Guild of Bricklayers and Plasterers, with which we are concerned, the Report referred to finds that, out of a total membership of one hundred and four, only thirty-nine had ever practised their craft. The unqualified majority included counsellors and attorneys, a peer, a hatter, an inspector of prisons and many clerks. The explanation is, of course, simple. Membership of the guilds was rigidly controlled for political and sectarian purposes. The Test Act and inacceptable oaths were applied, and Catholics and "bad" Protestants were thus excluded. The guilds in the long run controlled the Common Council; membership of a guild was a step to the civic franchise, and once on the burgess-roll the parliamentary franchise followed. Even when the Catholic Relief Bill of 1793 was carried and the bar upon the admission of Catholics to the corporations and guilds was theoretically removed, the Corporation of Dublin remained as violently anti-Catholic as before. Another forty years passed, as the Commission reports, in which no Catholic had been admitted to the civic franchise, and in which such admissions to the guilds were comparatively rare.[1]

That was the position when Michael Stapleton entered upon his Dublin career. There were Stapletons living here before him; but there is no evidence, except common employ-

[1] Lecky, *Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. iii, p. 211; Webb, p. 249.

ment, to connect him with the two Grevill Stapletons who are noted in the Dublin Diocesan Grant Book as dying intestate in 1728 and 1736. Michael Stapleton was of a Kilkenny family, perhaps of the same stock as Fr. Theobald Stapleton who published his Latin-Irish *Catechism of Christian Doctrine* in 1639—the first book to print an Irish text in Roman type. The earliest mention I have seen of him shows him as a stuccodore living in 1777 in 16 Mecklenburgh Street, at which time he must have been engaged on his frieze in the Examination Hall of T.C.D.—a work confidently and wrongly attributed to Italian artists. Three or four years before he had carried through the remarkable decoration of Powerscourt House with the exception of the hall and staircase, which were McCullagh's work. His name does not occur in the list of subscribers to George Richardson's *Book of Ceilings* (1776), though the book was in his possession and the list includes many of his Dublin contemporaries—Thomas Cooley, Henry Darley, James Gandon, Mr. Maguire, Thomas Penrose, Graham Myers, Francis Ryan, Edward Robbins and Mr. West. With West he must have lived on terms of particular intimacy since, upon his death in 1790, he appears as executor of his will ; but there is no trace of his elder's influence on his work.

In 1791 a lease fron Archibald Manning, who held other lots about Mountjoy Square, passes over to Michael Stapleton, builder, of Marlborough Street, the site of No. 1 Mountjoy Place ; and here Stapleton built the house where he lived till he was taken to the vaults of the Pro-Cathedral in 1801. Two generations of his children lived in the house after him, and there is still to be seen on one of its window-panes the diamond-cut signature of his grandson Michael Harry Stapleton, whose widow lived on there until she was ninety-two and had in her possession the drawings to which we shall presently refer. Michael's eldest son, George, who married a Bodkin of Annagh, Co. Galway, continued in his father's profession, building houses in Middle Gardiner Street, but also (as described in a MS. of his friend the architect Francis Johnston) decorating the Chapel Royal that Johnston commenced building in 1807. His son, Michael Harry, turned surgeon

and continued the family's connection with the arts at least to the extent of being Professor of Anatomy to the Royal Hibernian Academy from 1844 to 1873. The rest of the family history belongs to law, confirming Balzac's dictum that " chaque notaire porte en soi le débris d'un poète."

Stapleton, at his death, was possessed of three other houses that he built in Mountjoy Place, Nos. 7 and 8 Mountjoy Square, five other plots on the same square, 1 Camden Street, 34 Abbey Street, 9 Harcourt Street and " the house in which I dwell in Maynooth." If this were all the information we had of Stapleton, he would remain as one of those builders, like Darley, Ensor, Thorp and Pemberton, who were active in that period of Dublin buildings when Lord Mountjoy had undertaken a development scheme which was ended by his death in the battle of New Ross. Mountjoy had disposed of all the building lots around the Square, and three sides of it were completely built before the square was enclosed with railings of Swedish iron and Commissioners appointed in 1801. On the east side, where Stapleton had five lots, three houses only (Nos. 25, 26, 27) were built before 1801. Mountjoy's original plan intended a more uniform building of this fine square; each side was to be treated as a unit with a central pediment and end pavilions. Dwindling resources and the changed conditions of '98 and the Union prevented this and the yet more grandiose scheme linking up this area with his great conception of the Royal Circus, larger than Merrion Square, which was to crown the height from the Mater Hospital and the grounds of St. Joseph's Church (Berkeley Road) to the Royal Canal, and into which Eccles Street was to be one of the three southern radial entries. This town-planner's dream remained as a folding-plate in the *Picture of Dublin* so late as 1821, and Stapleton the builder might have had a share in it as in the building of the square.

But Stapleton is more important as stuccodore and designer than as builder, and fortunately we have a record that helps us to trace something more of this side of his activity. Through the good offices of Mr. Cecil Stapleton, the Friends of the National Collections have recently acquired and presented to

the National Library a collection of more than one hundred original drawings by Stapleton—designs for ceilings, schemes of wall-decoration, doors, mantel-pieces, and so-forth—executed with extreme delicacy in ink and coloured washes, some carrying useful inscriptions. The most important of these drawings are the two original designs for the Venus and Diana ceilings of the drawing-rooms in Belvedere House. The drawings differ in no material respect from the ceilings as executed ; but fortunately one of them includes the Venus centrepiece which is no longer in its position, and there are also certain Pompeian *amorini* at play with merchandise which the noble owner perhaps considered out of place and altered. Dating about 1775, these ceilings, with the hall and staircase decoration, represent the highest achievement of our Dublin stucco work of the last quarter of the century ; they have been attributed without any shadow of evidence—but not by the Georgian Society—to Italian craftsmen and yet more audaciously to Venetians. It is, therefore, with some satisfaction that they can now be exactly credited to Irish hands.

Other drawings include ceilings and decoration in Nos. 16 and 17 St. Stephen's Green (now the University Club and the Presbyterian Association) executed for Lord Milltown and David La Touche in 1776-7 ; a ceiling, cornice and frieze for Lord Powerscourt's Dome Room dated November, 1778 ; a ceiling in No. 44 St. Stephen's Green ; designs for the Marquis of Downshire's Dining Parlour (probably for his Blessington house burned in 1798) ; a ceiling for La Touche's house, Bellevue, Delgany, now also perished ; details for Col. Wingfield's parlour in Cork Abbey, Bray ; for the Chief Secretary's Lodge in 1784 and the Vice-Regal lodge in 1787, and other decoration prepared for Mrs. La Touche, Peter La Touche and for Agmondisham Vesey's residence, Lucan House.

These references only suggest the extent of his work. A closer scrutiny of the drawings, an examination of the work in his own houses already mentioned and other houses belonging to his family and the clue afforded by his association with the La Touche family who owned so many houses in Dublin

and its vicinity will probably result in further identifications. Subject to correction and in varying degrees of probability, possibility and dubiety, I incline tentatively to add No. 3 Mountjoy Square, Nos. 34 and 35 North Great George's Street, Nos. 52 and 53 St. Stephen's Green, some houses in Ely Place and Mount Kennedy House to his canon. Nos. 39 to 44. Mountjoy Square were Stapleton's property. His granddaughter, Olivia, who married Count Nugent, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, lived in No. 44, and the fine decoration of No. 39 has some remarkable affinities with his own house in Mountjoy Place.

Stapleton's decorative style is, consciously or unconsciously, familiar to the dwindling number of old Dubliners. It is inexactly referred to as the Adam style. The Dublin end-of-the-century school unwillingly submitted to that new fashion and, even in the hey-day of that fashion, preserved some modicum of independence. Neither Stapleton nor his contemporary, Charles Thorp, can be wholly identified with it; though Thorp, a younger man, neighbours it more closely than Stapleton. Their designs mark the return to strict symmetry. Political revolutions and artistic liberty go ill together, and these men lived through revolutionary days whose doctrinaire advent cast a shadow before it of reaction from rococo liberty. The brief days of rococo were ending in 1760. Gone are the lightly disposed ornaments that, with an air of so casual a negligence, gracefully respect each other's liberty of movement; gone are the aerial spaces where goddesses play among wind-blown roses and where the birds stridently proclaim themselves from ceilings and walls. The age of rococo is dead; "that of the sophisters, oeconomists and calculators has succeeded." The Adam brothers were all three. Sophisters, their pedantic devotion to antiquity reproduced all the archaeological delf that appealed to the bluestockings and the followers of Athenian Stuart; sphinxes, *paterae*, and what not replaced the violins and hay-rakes of the fifties, and Chambers derided their little roundels and ovals, "the dessert upon the plates of which are dished out bad copies of indifferent antiques." As economists they adopted

the policy of mass-production and as calculators the artistic method of rule and compass. The figures that moved freely on open ceilings were confined in little medallions and the " butter-prints " of 1660, which Roger Pratt deplored long before the arrival of rococo, re-appeared from their moulds. The ceilings that gave free play to the creative imagination and to the most sensitive disposition of plain surface and delicately graduated *décor* were divided into circles and segments, ovals and panels, and covered with repetitive ornament. Reproduction *en série* reduced the proper handling of plastic material to the minimum of surface modelling. Everything was refined and very perspicuous, the height of good taste and good form.

Thorp's work is more in the new fashion than Stapleton's, though even here some of his stylisations are more closely related to earlier French ornamentists like Bérain than to Robert Adam. Both are partial to the division of ceilings into ovals with panels, but a certain naturalism still clings to their work—and particularly to Stapleton, who is always less wiry. His easy inflection of twigs and foliage, the open aspect of his smaller ceilings evidence a reluctance to accept a mainly mechanical execution. In Mr. W. L. Cole's house, No. 3 Mountjoy Square (built in 1789) where there is much work reminiscent of Stapleton, there is a wide over-door in the dining-room, with entablature and pilasters, that is a most charming piece of decoration. The setting is conventional but the naturalistic treatment of the alternately arranged wheat stalks and vine shoots is an admirable example of the way in which our artists reconciled two tendencies.

Enough has been said to show how far a man of distinguished talent and, unlike Thorp, a stranger to the guild could advance in the practice of his profession. But Stapleton's career suggests other speculations on the position of the guilds, especially in regard to training, at its outset about 1750. The not uncommon complaint of the guilds, that outsiders did not serve the proper period of seven years' apprenticeship, seems to come out of a sense of loss of fees rather than from anxiety to maintain a proper standard of

skill. The evidence of interest in education through the guild machinery is quite the other way. Before they had sunk to the position of only nominal identity with their profession the guilds had charge of the education of apprentices, and maintained a constant surveillance of their members' output. The instances are frequent where a master's scamped work is condemned and fines are imposed. But in the century when a care for political and civic advancement absorbed their attention, education was devolved elsewhere, or went by the board. Interesting illustration of this is found in the unimpeded growth of the Dublin Society's art schools, whose quiet development is in contrast with the storms and vicissitudes encountered by another such enterprise in another country where the guild spirit was intact.

At whatever point one begins to examine the work of the Dublin Society in the eighteenth century, one is astonished at its sagacious initiative. It projected and carried on work now entrusted to many government departments and was, in truth, the brain-trust of the Irish Parliament at its best moment. One signal instance of this initiative was its organisation of craft training in its art schools set up in 1742-1746. With the exception of the Academy of Painting in France, whose schools were consolidated eighty years before, the Dublin Society was the first to give general public instruction in the arts. The teaching, where desirable, was gratuitous and the classes—here I imagine we take precedence of the French Academy—were open to students of both sexes.

When the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture was being organised by Colbert and Le Brun, it had to fight as bitter a fight against the corporation of *peintres-imagiers* as Richelieu against the princes. Colbert had his own reasons of state in setting it up, but to the artists concerned the formation of an Academy was the assertion of liberty and personal talent—*mais oui !* as M. Louis Gillet says—against routine, indolence and the mercantile spirit. For fifteen years the *maîtrise* fought it at every point, sometimes with temporary success. In the end the Academy won through, even to the unfair extent of themselves acquiring the teaching monopoly

that the guild had enjoyed. Even then so much remained of the old spirit that, when the guild was dissolved in 1776, the Academy struck a medal to commemorate the occasion with the significant motto *Liberté rendue aux Arts.*

In Dublin there was nothing like this conflict. Not a mouse stirred among the painter-stainers or among any of the other guilds concerned as the Society set up its three schools of Ornament, Figure and Drawing in Architecture. The numbers with which these schools began in the seventeen-forties are not readily accessible, as the printed volumes of the Society's Proceedings begin in May 1765. But between May and December of that year forty new students were admitted to the classes, and during the year 1766, one hundred and eleven. Ten years or so after Stapleton's death, five hundred and five pupils were admitted to the School of Ornament, which the stucco men mainly frequented, and over three hundred to the Figure School. During Baker's term as master of the architectural school, Dr. Berry says that there was not a working handyman or mechanic in the building line in Dublin or the chief towns who had not received instruction in it. It is, therefore, most probable that it was in this School of Ornament that Stapleton got his training under the Frenchman, James Mannin, an artist, according to Strickland, resident in Dublin, but according to Pasquin, invited from France to the post. It is not irrelevant to note that Mannin, who also taught landscape, exhibited a design for a staircase in 1765, and was called upon in 1766 to submit a design for the President's chair (*Proceedings*, April, 1766). Remembering Stapleton's associations, it may also be worth mentioning that one of the La Touches attended these classes, winning, but surrendering his claim to a premium.

Corresponding with deliberate and well-conceived planning by the Dublin Society, this liberation from routine training by decadent guilds is, to my mind, a chief cause of the efflorescence of the Dublin crafts in the eighteenth century. It had certainly an obvious advantage inasmuch as the guilds, from their nature, were jealous of novelty and conservative in their methods. It is hardly conceivable that the variety of style

and treatment shown in our ceilings from 1730 to 1780 could be reached without a temper and training unembarrassed by traditional regulations. We have the names of upwards of a hundred stuccodores of this period who are freemen of the city. Who knows how many others, like Stapleton, were outside the guild ? The independent teaching of the Dublin Society and the example of a few foreigners— the Francinis and single-ceiling Cramillion—opened the eyes of these men to Europe, filled their portfolios, as in Stapleton's case, with engravings of the rococo masters and set a standard that was soon challenged by the master of Mespil House. Such a masterpiece is not produced out of any narrow theory of instruction or without the crossing of many currents. One may take a liberty with the words of the dead poet to say

> No lonely impulse of delight
> Drove to this tumult in the clouds.

The encounter and crossing of such currents divides our eighteenth century work into fairly well-defined categories: the rare pre-rococo of 1730, the figure work introduced by the Francini, the rococo of 1750, the Palladian compartment ceiling that continues side by side with all these and beyond 1760, the silver age of decadence of Stapleton and Thorp. It is easy to classify summarily ; tempting, but not so easy to affix the craftsman's name. Most of them must remain " naked nominations without deserts and noble acts . . nameless in worthy deeds." The Francini work we know at Carton, Riverstown and Clanwilliam House ; but the ceilings of Mespil House and La Touche's Bank and 9 St. Stephen's Green—all reflecting the French-Italian influence, the second echoing Wattean's solitary ceiling design, a *Vénus blessée par l'Amour*—these hold their secret still. We know that Edward Simpson was habitually associated as plasterer with Castle who came to this country not later than 1730. In the middle period Robert West of Dominick Street is the most vigorous craftsman at work. Some of his work, I think, has been destroyed since the Georgian Society dissolved ; but closer examination and a full survey, from this point of view, of

our country houses should result in more identifications. In the late period Stapleton and Thorp hold the field with McCullagh and Francis Ryan, Thorp carrying on his work into the new century. Admirable as is this later work, it does not rank in artistic value with the best work from 1740 to 1760. The work of this period, and in particular the figured work, is of exceptional interest and, as works of art, deserves more of the public attention, which is—sometimes from the sort of snobbishness that disdains craft work or from some circumstance of notoriety—directed to inferior canvases. This work is not numerous ; in some cases it stands in condemned houses and is in imminent peril. Building development, the break-up of country estates, the housebreaker, the beetle, dry-rot and more culpable neglect have already destroyed much that was valuable. The most precious surviving examples are, to my knowledge, threatened with destruction ; some are wholly unrecorded. If skilled craft work is not to disappear from a city once famed for it, if continuity in skill is to be preserved among our young artisans, if even their history is to be written, these masterpieces should be scrupulously cared for, a full survey made of them, and the necessary measures taken for their safety.

C. P. Curran

NOTE.

In addition to his town house, No. 1 Mountjoy Place, Michael Stapleton built for his country residence a large Georgian mansion, named Casino, in the Rathfarnham neighbourhood. I have not had the opportunity of identifying this house, which apparently has changed its name.

His son, George Stapleton, made the following dispositions by his will ; they include houses that belonged to his father :—His house in Mountjoy Place, four houses in North Frederick Street, No. 9 Mountjoy Square and No. 78 Lower Mount Street to his wife, Anna Stapleton. No. 8 Mountjoy Square on trust to his daughter Anna. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 Lower Abbey Street, No. 47 Exchequer Street. No. 31 Summer Hill, (and after the death of his wife) No. 1 Mountjoy Place, No. 29 North Frederick Street and No. 9 Mountjoy Square to his eldest son Michael. He gave No. 4 Middle Gardiner Street, Nos. 104-109 Great Britain Street, (and after the death of his wife) No. 78 Lower Mount Street to his son George with No. 39 Summer Hill and No. 14 Mountjoy Square.

I may be allowed to add here an item of information obtained since the above article was written—namely that Michael Stapleton's son Michael Harry was the first surgeon appointed to the Mater Misericordiae Hospital, which was opened in 1861.

THOMAS BAT'A AND HIS WORK

JAMES F. MEENAN, M.A.

IT is impossible to read studies of modern factory organisation without a feeling of unreality. There was a time when the organisation of industries or of individual factories was directed towards purely technical ends. Nowadays, productive efficiency is expressed in terms of aeroplanes or anti-aircraft guns; and the resources of entire industries are devoted to the building of adverse balances in those countries which enjoy the perilous protection of the Big Powers. These considerations apply with especial force to the subject of this sketch, situated as it is in Czechoslovakia, that latest addition to the list of countries which one would prefer to forget. In these days it is difficult to keep abreast of events. This article was first suggested in the days when Czechoslovakia still stood as a bastion of Versailles: it was written when the state still survived, if mutilated in territory and hyphenated in name; it will appear when nothing is left of that unhappy republic but its motto.

In a sense, however, this chain of events has lent an unusual interest to those chapters of M. Valentin-Smith's work[1] in which the early life of Thomas Bat'a[2] is described. The founder of the factory system which bears his name began his career under Austrian rule; his successors are now fugitives from a harsher tyranny. Once more the Czechoslovak people find their enterprise and development repressed by a foreign ascendancy. If the life of Bat'a shows examples of the romance of industry, it also testifies to those qualities which brought his people to a short-lived freedom.

Under the Austrian-Hungarian Empire the Czech people were debarred from any important share in public administration. Their energies were thus turned into industry in

[1] *Une Réussité industrielle et sociale : Zlin.* Paris : Librairie Technique et Economique. 1937. pp. 187.

[2] Pronounced Batia.

much the same manner, and for the same reasons, as the more enterprising Irish Catholics turned to trade in the eighteenth century. In no department of production was their skill more highly developed than in the manufacture of footwear. They were known, indeed, in those days as the cobblers of the Empire.

Thomas Bat'a came of an old-established cobbling family. It resided at Zlin, in Moravia, where it had been settled for at least eight generations before the birth of Thomas in 1876. It was only to be expected that he should be apprenticed to the family trade. What was unexpected was the manner in which, from the outset, he studied the possibilities of further subdivision of production by the adoption of machinery. Neither the one nor the other was known in his father's workshop : it appears that Thomas had finished his apprenticeship before he even knew that machinery was used for the production of boots and shoes. He made that discovery through a visit to the Farber factory at Prossnitz ; and his interest in the new process was so evident that he was offered a period of apprenticeship to the firm. It was a golden opportunity to study the mechanical process at first-hand, but the energy with which he seized it proved fatal to his plans. The firm was unused to apprentices so devoted to their work as to return to the factory after hours to study the machines. It concluded, naturally enough, that Bat'a was no ordinary learner but rather a trade spy sent to study the reasons of its success. Bat'a was dismissed, though not before seeing enough to gauge the possibilities of machinery ; and he returned to his father too full of his experiences to be downcast at the manner of their termination.

It was to be expected that the impact of these new ideas on the traditional manufacture of his father would be violent. Thomas was advised to continue on the path he had chosen and find further employment in some mechanised firm. He had no idea, however, of another term of apprenticeship. He would start his own factory and install his own plant. To finance that enterprise capital aid was indispensable, but the only resources available was a small sum of money left by his

mother for the advancement of her children. Thomas took with him not only the money but also the brother and sister who were equally entitled with him. So equipped, he set out from home to seek the fortune which, he felt, awaited the introduction of the new methods. The break between one generation and another, between the tradition of handicraft and the adoption of mass-production, could scarcely be more thoroughly symbolized.

Thomas returned to Zlin, which the family had left some years before, and constructed the small building which still stands beside the gigantic factory which is its successor. He was just 18. The early years were difficult and filled with reverses. The original capital was soon exhausted. Borrowing did not last enough to bring success, and soon Bat'a was faced with a meeting of his creditors. He successfully pointed out that by forcing repayment they ran the chance of losing all their claims, while if they held their hand they had better chances of eventual repayment. The argument is not unknown in the annals of post-war international finance. But there is the more striking parallel with the young F. E. Smith calling together his Oxford creditors and convincing them by the same argument. The motto *Faber fortunae meae* might have served Bat'a more appropriately than it did Lord Birkenhead.

The factory at last began to pay its way. The profits went back into the business as, in those early years, the purchase of machinery was all-important. The use of machinery being unknown even in Prague, it was necessary to go so far as Frankfort to find suitable plant. Bat'a made the journey and returned with the plant he needed. When the factory reached stability, he travelled to the United States to study the most advanced types of machinery and to place orders for them. In the American factories, also, he came into contact with that meticulous sub-division of the tasks of production which he was later to develop.

Specialisation, and the manner in which Bat'a applied it, will be considered later in this article. It is perhaps just to say that its application excites admiration for its efficiency

rather than agreement with all its implications. But if commerce be admitted to hold a fugitive romance, an example may surely be found in the spectacle of the young Czech employer straining to place his factory in the front of industrial development. His enterprise brought its reward, and by 1914 Bat'a employed some two thousand workers.

The outbreak of war, accompanied by the mobilisation of the employees, threatened to destroy this harmony of increasing output and increasing profits. Bat'a saw that the one hope of salvation lay in persuading the military authorities at Vienna to place his factory, on account of its mechanical efficiency, on what would now be termed the list of reserved occupations. Mobilisation of his workers had to be avoided at all costs. His account of the journey to Vienna deserves to be quoted :—

" On mobilisation against Serbia, it was evident, to producers and consumers, that our industry was unnecessary. All our plant stopped work when I heard the notice of mobilisation from Ungarish-Hradisch. In a few minutes I covered by motor the distance between Zlin and Ungarish-Hradisch. The mobilisation order was peremptory, and my workers affected by the order were to rejoin their corps within 24 hours.

The next day, having missed the connection, I went by horse-car to Hullein to board the Vienna express, in order to obtain war orders. I had to get that train at any price. The car was driven by one Hubacek. He had good horses ; and he and I were resolved to sacrifice them if necessary. We stood in the car, he with reins in one hand and whip in the other, I with watch in hand and eyes fixed on the second-hand or on the kilometre stones. Only one thing mattered : the horses must not fail before they reached their goal.

In the outskirts of Hullein we saw the smoke of the express, already in the station. No hope, it seemed ; but the horses, as if they had understood the situation, made a final effort. In spite of that, however, there was no time to get to the station, buy a ticket and reach the platform. I jumped on to the line and, dodging a moving goods train, succeeded in climbing on to the express as it pulled out."

Within the twenty-four hours Bat'a had obtained orders for military boots. He was thus able to keep his workers at home, and the future of the factory was assured. The war

brought a full measure of reward for his bold adoption of machinery on a large scale. In 1914 his two thousand workers produced rather less than three thousand pairs a day. By 1918 four thousand workers produced ten thousand pairs. This growth confirmed his already strong belief in the social utility of the machine. At the time, as in the case of all other producers of war material, there was no opportunity to reflect on the social consequences of rapid replacement of manual labour by the machine. Under the circumstances, the machines replaced the workers who were at the front. What was to happen when the fighters returned was a matter of no immediate importance. When the crisis of demobilisation did arise, Bat'a met it by further measures of mechanisation, and their success appeared to him to be the final justification of mechanical progress.

The problems of the peace were not confined to matters of replacement. The plant had to make the change from military boots to the shoes and slippers of peace. At the same time the vast market comprised in the old Empire had dissolved into a welter of independent states whose frontiers, in the first two years, were fluctuating as violently as their currencies. The gradual restoration of order did as much to harm as to encourage trade, since the first aim of the succession states was to develop their industries at the expense of their imports. In a tariffed world there appeared to be little hope for a factory depending on mass production for its success.

There was another change more important than the convulsions of Central Europe. It was a revolution more far-reaching, to Bat'a, than the Bolshevik; a novelty more significant than a Regent in Hungary or a President in Vienna. The post-war years brought the short skirt. Shoes were henceforward to be as important as hats; they must be not only comfortable and durable, but also fashionable.

Thus fashion restored the markets which politics had destroyed. Bat'a met the new situation with a policy which would have been impracticable to any firm less adapted to large-scale production. In 1922 he cut his prices and commenced to sell cheap, trusting to the turn-over to bring him

profit. The success of the new departure may be gauged from the following figures :—

Year	Workers	Output
1923 ..	1,800 ..	8,000 pairs a day.
1925 ..	5,200 ..	25,000 ,,
1930 ..	12,300 ..	82,000 ,,
1935 ..	43,000 ..	168,000 ,,

The cutting of prices meant necessarily the cutting of wages. Here Bat'a was greatly aided by the fact that his personnel had not only worked in the factory for many years but were also of the same stock as he, sharing the same tradition. Not the least of the advantages which he enjoyed came from the fact that on this, as on other occasions, he was able to introduce yet more mechanisation without provoking trouble with his employees. In this instance, at least, progress did bring greater employment. Another characteristic of the concern may be noted in the absence of worker's unions. M. Valentin-Smith holds this example up in contrast with the French Front Populaire, a movement with which he has obviously little sympathy. But one feature of the Bat'a policy may be noted. Readers of Mr. Gedye's *Fallen Bastions* will remember the surprise with which he discovered that the Bat'a organisation advertised as freely in the Communist papers of Prague as in those belonging to the capitalist or conservative classes.

Indeed, Bat'a's outlook on politics and social issues is well described by M. Valentin-Smith : "He never displayed any feeling on racialism, nationalism or anti-semitism ; and his business remained completely free from politics . . . Personally, he never exercised the slightest political pressure on his workers ; but if he never discharged an employee for taking part in political displays, he would certainly have held it against him for having lost time in thinking of other things than his professional duty." There, one feels, was the true Bat'a—surely the very arch-type of the economic man.

It is time to turn to a study of the factory organisation which he developed. Here again one is guided by a lucid description from the pen of another French writer, M. Dubreuil.[1] He brings out in detail the marked divergence of the Bat'a factory from the normal type of industrial concern. The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century was not at the expense of handicraft alone ; to its victory over the wage-earner and the farmer was added the suppression of the independent artisan. When the century closed, almost every country of importance presented the spectacle of a labouring proletariat—deprived of property, independence and initiative —producing goods of value but removed from touch with those who used them and dependent entirely on their wages. It was little wonder if what initiative and independence remained was expressed in syndicalism, strikes and street riots. Indeed, in Italy for example, the best historical justification of the syndicalist movement is that, under the influence of Sorel, its militancy infused some spirit into the resignation of the working classes.

The second industrial revolution, which has been accomplished in the last few decades, accentuated all the evil features of the first. The nineteenth century factory was usually an independent concern ; dependent indeed upon the business acumen (combined or not with luck as the case might be) of its owner, but nevertheless independent and in competition with other concerns. The growth of monopoly, inevitable in many industries, has brought about a state of affairs in which the directors of even the largest enterprises are influenced by other than immediate considerations and have lost their power of free action almost as fully as their workmen. One may recall various passages in the Report of the Royal Commission on British Industry and in the Macmillan Report, documents now a decade behind in an age of rapid centralisation and interlocking. The importance of finance in industry has grown rapidly and, in most countries lately, the productive structure has been increasingly devoted to political ends. Undoubtedly,

[1] L'Exemple de Bat'a. (Grasset. 1936. 18 fr.). M. Valentin-Smith also gives a very full description of the Bat'a factory organisation.

there has been, in Great Britain at least, a measure of reaction towards the smaller firm. Nevertheless it is generally true to say that, in the leading industrial countries, the relation between workers and the prosperity of the firm has continued to diminish and has been accompanied by a parallel decline in the powers and functions of their immediate employers.

It will not be suggested that the Bat'a factory presents a pleasing contrast. On the contrary, it possibly accentuates the evils of centralisation. A greater degree of initiative is granted to its employees; but, as will be seen, the value of that concession is considerably diminished by a consequent financial responsibility, which is all the greater because it falls upon shoulders incapable of bearing it. Nevertheless, the Bat'a peculiarities may be of interest.

In the first place, the organisation pushes the principle of the division of labour to its last possible degree of development. This division is not confined merely to physical labour; in that regard, it would be difficult to improve on existing American practice. But Bat'a adopted it in other spheres of industrial organisation—in costs and risk-sharing. The factory itself is physically divided into a number of small factories, each complete in itself; the programme of production is divided amongst these. It might be thought that the provision of plant for all these factories would considerably increase the capitalisation of the firm; but, in the eyes of the proprietors, the advantages appear to outweigh the handicaps. As a result of this division of programmes, the time necessary to the completion of any one of them is comparatively short; and it will be seen that, by the concentration of effort over a very short period, an exceptional degree of sub-division is attained.

It is therefore possible to post up in each factory the figures of the programme which has to be completed in the next week or fortnight. These figures are so placed and are so detailed that they are comprehensible to all. The importance of this point lies in the fact that upon the completion of this programme lies the standard of remuneration of each worker. M. Dubreuil considers, as one of the greatest merits of this system, that

each worker knows what he has to do and how much he will get if he discharges his responsibility for doing it to the last gaiter-button. "Responsibility," he says, "is not therefore, as it is everywhere else, an obscure matter, far-removed from the workers." Undoubtedly, this system gives the worker a more immediate interest in his job. But the worker in easier-going countries may object that there he is paid to do his job, not to take responsibility. Nor does it appear that at Zlin the workers have any more real responsibility for the fortunes of the firm than elsewhere.

These programmes are drawn up on the basis of a maximum production of two thousand pairs a day per plant. But the responsibility of the personnel does not begin or end with the making of so many pairs. The chiefs of each section buy their own raw materials, allow for the depreciation of plant, pay running costs and wages, and then balance their budget. They buy their raw material from the section preceding them in the productive process and sell it, after their work on it is completed, to that succeeding them. If they make something on that exchange, the profit is divided among all (although the section immediately responsible for the profit receives a larger share): if there is a loss, the chiefs bear the cost. Whatever be the immediate result, it is clear that, from the standpoint of the employers, their costs are reduced to a minimum.

M. Dubreuil considers this to be the most original of all the aspects of the factory. Each of these programmes must not only include a statement of the work to be done but also a financial statement. In this is shown the expenses to be met, running costs and, above all, the purchases of the material from the preceding section. Against this is set what is to be made by the sale to the succeeding section and the income represented by the basic salaries of the employees, accompanied by a statement of the bonus which would accrue on completion of full production. In a word, not only labour but also finance is divided.

But this is not all. These programmes are signed by the managers of each section and are in the nature of a contract

with the firm for execution of the production on the financial basis shown. The managers are financially responsible for its execution in the allotted time. In other words, they are placed in the same position *vis-a-vis* the firm as an individual producer to his clients.

Leaving more general considerations aside, one qualification is necessary. The buying and selling from one section to another is not left to demand and supply or to the bargaining skill of the individual directors. The same organisation which has drawn up the complete programme for the enterprise fixes the prices at which the materials should be bought. These prices are based upon the assumption that each section fulfils 100 per cent. of its programme. Prices may be fixed, for example, on the basis of so many pairs being made in a certain time or of so many pieces being cut from a given quantity of leather. If the number is exceeded (although the possibility appears to be remote), a profit will accrue.

The payment of wages is on equally characteristic lines. The employees are divided into three classes paid in varying manner: the directors of each section, the workers on the material, and the auxiliary workers. The directors obtain, in the division of the sums realised by the completion of these programmes and of any profits made by buying and selling, double the share of the worker earning the highest wage. Here again, by inducing him to obtain the complete fulfilment of each programme, his advantage is made to coincide with that of the firm. But there is a heavy price to pay for this comparative advantage: it is balanced by an exceptional exposure to loss, as losses on the buying and selling are debited against the director alone. The salaries of the second class of employees vary from 150 to 500 crowns a week (about £1 to £3). M. Dubreuil assures us that these salaries are used merely as bases of calculation for the purpose of the return on the completion of each programme and that, in fact, the potential wage is much higher. There are, however, no figures given on this matter. The third class of workers—those whose labour has no direct influence on production—are placed on a fixed wage. It will be noted that the ordinary hierarchy is

reversed ; in Zlin the higher positions are on a variable wage, the lower on a fixed wage.

But this does not by any means end the matter. The bonus on fulfilment of the programme is not paid over directly to the worker. It is paid instead, at his choice, into one or other of two accounts. The first, from which withdrawals may be made freely, is one carrying a very small rate of interest. The second pays 10 per cent. interest and is under the special care of the management, who do all in their power to prevent withdrawals on a large scale. Investments here obviously pay well at 10 per cent. ; but, equally, they bind the investor even more closely to the firm. This ingenious dependence grows more complete as one ascends the ranks. For example, a superintendent, if leaving his employment, cannot draw more than half his savings from this second fund ; the rest is paid after one year. It is a new way of impeding the mobility of labour. It may be remarked that the Bat'a factory presents the sole means of employment in its area. There is no labour organisation.

In short this type of factory organisation is organised to the last degree of efficiency. Its running costs and its expenses on material must be the lowest of any enterprise of its kind.

On July 12, 1932, Thomas Bat'a was killed in an aeroplane accident. Fittingly enough he was flying to a business consultation. His work was continued by his brother and nephew, until they were obliged to fly before the German troops last March. It is difficult to obtain any precise information on the present position of the factory. Presumably the family come under one of the wider provisions of the Nuremberg laws and their property has passed, partly or wholly, under German control. The Bat'a enterprise was the most impressive and most widely known creation of the Czech genius. What will be its ultimate fate under German " protection " we are unable to say.

JAMES F. MEENAN

RICHARD KIRWAN : 1733-1812

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RICHARD Kirwan was variously and characteristically described by his contemporaries as "the Great Chemist of Ireland," "the Philosopher of Dublin," and "the Nestor of English chemistry." He was recognised as an authority in many branches of eighteenth century learning besides chemistry. He wrote on theology, metaphysics, logic, law, philology, music, mechanics, mineralogy, mining, geology and meteorology. He was the last great defender of the phlogiston theory, which caused nearly as much stir in its time as Einstein's theory does today or the evolution theory did yesterday. In recognition of his services to the advancement of learning, he was elected honorary member of the Academies of Berlin, Dijon, Upsal, Stockholm, Philadelphia, Edinburgh, and the Mineralogical Society of Jena. He held the coveted title F.R.S. of London, and he was well enough known throughout the English provinces to be elected member of the Manchester Society. He was not without honour even in his own country. From 1799 until his death in 1812 he was President of the Royal Irish Academy. In his own lifetime a chemical and mineralogical society was formed in Dublin and called after him the Kirwanian Society, and Kirwan was its first President. He was also President of the Dublin Library Society, Inspector-General of His Majesty's Mines in Ireland,[1] Perpetual Member of the Amicable Society of Galway,[2] Doctor of Laws of the

[1] He was succeeded in this post by Sir Richard John Griffith, of "Griffith's Valuation" fame, whose monumental work, the *Geological Map of Ireland*, took its final shape in 1855.

[2] Hardiman says of this Society (*Hist. of Galway*, p. 312): "The great coalition of all that was wealthy and respectable, both Protestant and Catholic, during the memorable era of volunteering, gave a final blow to the expiring religious prejudices in [Galway]: from that period the gentlemen of the town and county forgot all party distinctions, and have ever since [*i.e.*, to 1820] cordially united in promoting every measure connected with the public welfare. In 1791, the Amicable Literary Society was formed in Galway by some of the most respectable individuals of both persuasions, for the purpose of acquiring and disseminating useful information on the important subjects of agriculture, commerce, science, etc. . . . ." Hardiman, in common with most educated people of the period, sets great store on the quality of respectability.

University of Dublin, and the only person ever granted the quaint privilege of keeping his hat on while examining for Trinity College fellowships. Kirwan was undoubtedly a great personage in his time, but he is almost a 'forgotten' man today. Like most scientists, he had not the luck to have his name associated with one of those dazzling discoveries which get into the English textbooks, secure immortality for their author, and mark an era in the intellectual progress of the human race. Nevertheless, his researches were numerous and highly valuable and played their part in building up modern science. Kirwan was a pioneer in many branches of science, and a just estimate of his work has yet to be made.[1]

Richard Kirwan belonged to one of the wealthiest and most respectable of those Galway families who were known as the 'Tribes.' His ancestors came out of England in the reign of Henry VI. They settled in Connaught and rapidly acquired, by dint of industry and shrewd loyalty to the family motto of "God, King and Country" ("J'aim mon Dieu, mon Roi et mon Pais"), moneys, many and considerable lands, and even popularity. Their popularity may be judged by the fact that the Western heralds identified them with the Irish clan Ciorrovan and traced their origin to Heremon, second son of Milesius. The Kirwans intermarried chiefly with the Frenches, the Blakes and the Martins. Kirwans figure frequently in Hardiman's "History of Galway" and Fahey's "History of Kilmacduagh" as mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, Catholic wardens and vicars, and prominent lay citizens of the town of Galway. Amongst outstanding members of the Kirwan family may be mentioned Stephen, Bishop of Clonfert, who died in 1602; Francis, the pious Bishop of Killala (1589–1661), whose Life was written by his nephew, John Lynch, the celebrated author of *Cambrensis Eversus*; Patrick Robert, Bishop of Achonry from 1758 to 1776; and Rev. Walter Blake Kirwan (1754-1805), "the first christian orator of his day." Hardiman considers worthy of special mention

[1] The best account of Kirwan's work in chemistry is to be found in *Isis*, Feb., 1930, "Richard Kirwan, an Irish Chemist of the Eighteenth Century," by Prof. J. Reilly and N. O'Flynn. Accounts of Kirwan's researches are also given in Ernst von Meyer's *Geschichte der Chemie* and in R. Jagnaux's *Histoire de la Chimie*.

Sir John Kirwan of Castlehacket and Clement Kirwan. Sir John amassed a large fortune in the West Indies, was Mayor of Galway in the reign of James II, " had the best breed of racing cattle in the empire," and introduced modern glass windows into Galway in place of the small leaden lattices. Clement in 1648 built the castle of Cregg, the last " defensive " castle erected in the West of Ireland. Clement's grandson, Martin of Cregg, married (30 October, 1726) Mary the second daughter of Patrick French of Durus, Cloghballymore and Drumharsna. Martin had town and business houses in Galway. For a great part of his life he conformed to the established church, probably to save his estates, but he was attended by a priest on his deathbed (1741). Martin had four sons, Patrick, Richard, Andrew and Hyacinth.[1] Richard, the second son, was born at Cloghballymore in 1733.[2]

Richard's boyhood was passed in Galway and at Clogh, with occasional visits to Cregg and to the numerous estates of his kinsmen, which dotted the country from Dalgan and Castlehacket to Lough Cutra.[3] Many tales are told of the boy's early love for learning. At five he could conjugate irregular French verbs. At six, happening to hear some visitors dispute the question " Why was George the First ? ", he gave over playing with the dog and proceeded to give the company an account of Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession which settled the discussion. At seven he made a compendium of ancient history. (Later he was remarkable for his knowledge of the history of all nations). " Such was his devotion to study at this early period that he used to ascend a tree with a book and read for hours, heedless of the shouts of servants

[1] A pedigree of the Kirwan family put together by Denis Kirwan, Lt.-Commander R.N., and Sir John Kirwan, Member of the Australian Parliament, gives the following: Patrick killed in a duel in Dublin (23 Nov., 1756) with Mr. Brereton, Usher of the Irish House of Commons. [Michael Donovan in his " Sketch of Richard Kirwan's Life," *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, 1847–50, Appendix, places this duel in 1754: Donovan states that Patrick was seven years older than Richard.]: Andrew, a Major in the Army, died 1813; he saw service in the American war, was at Quebec with Wolfe and at the siege of Gibraltar; he built Knockdoe [the ruins of which still stand]: Hyacinth married Frances Blake of Towerhill and had issue.

[2] Cloghballymore, or Clogh, about three miles from Kinvara, is now in possession of the African Missions Society, to whom it was bequeathed by Count Blake. Hardiman states that Richard was born in 1734.

[3] See Taylor and Skinner's *Maps of the Roads of Ireland* (1777), pp. 76–90. Richard Kirwan is mentioned as a subscriber. One of the Kirwan demesnes is called " Friendly-Quarters."

sent in search of him. He read every morning in bed, from dawn until the family hour of rising, and then concealed until next morning the treasure which he had borrowed without leave from his uncle's library."

In Galway young Richard improved his Irish, English and French and picked up some Spanish. He was bred in the tradition of the 'Tribes,' that there were many below him and few above him. From his father he learned how the merchant princes of Galway ranked from the earliest times with the first orders of the community; how learning and science were received and cherished within the town when much of the Kingdom was immersed in profound ignorance; how for urbanity and elegance of manners the citizens equalled those of the most refined community and contracted no stain from their unpolished neighbours in the Claddagh or the coarse petty squirearchy in the county; how the merchants had been rich and great adventurers at sea, kept good hospitality and were kind to strangers; how Galway was fallen on evil days so that its inhabitants, despite their public spirit, wealth and independence, were now victims of severe penal visitations every time Government took fright at the Pretender; how the town was in decay, with the fortifications out of repair, the gates falling from their hinges, the main wall full of holes made by the smugglers, and only three or four trading vessels in the Bay where there had been four score; how it was hard for an honest merchant to keep in with both the new English and the old Irish; how taxation and extortion were driving away his old friends from the town and the most energetic young fishermen from the Claddagh.

On holy-days Richard liked to go down to Mr. Whaley's estate near the strand and see the people of the Claddagh in their colourful Sunday clothes. He liked to see the men in their fine blue jackets with standing collars and horn buttons, blue plush breeches never tied or buttoned at the knees, blue worsted stockings, new brogues, broad trimmed hats neither cocked nor slouched, and red silk handkerchiefs about the neck. He liked to see the women in their blue rug cloaks trimmed with fine ribbon, rich calico or stuff gowns over red

flannel, and silk handkerchiefs on their head. He liked to see the girls in their blue mantles, red bodygowns and fine muslin or cambric caps trimmed with rich lace. He soon learned that those who knew English wore ribbons in their cap. He loved to hear about the manners and customs and amusements of these Claddagh people ; but he found their Irish harsh and hard to understand, and he never heard them sing a passable song. He loved the peculiar pageantry of their procession when they came up to the town on St. John's Night, the young men in short white jackets and silken sashes and hats decorated with flowers and ribbons, preceded by the two " merrymen " full of antics, tricks and gambols. On the approach of the harvest and winter herring seasons, when great flocks of sea fowl appeared in the Bay and made great clamour, and the sea flashed at night, he loved to go with his mother to a height above the town and look down on the five-hundred boats of the Claddagh men as they sailed out in regular order to the fishing. What a wondrous sight that was ! They were strange handsome beings, these Claddagh folk. Richard never considered they were made of the same clay as himself, even though they had the same religion. Half a century later he would recall vividly the Claddagh people and tell General Vallancey about their customs as he helped Dr. Lanigan to translate works on Fisheries for the Royal Dublin Society.

Richard had other excursions with his mother. It was she who brought him one memorable day to the lonely shrine of St. Mac Duagh out in the Burren Mountains, the day that his interest in botany and geology began. As they approached the Eagle's Nest, the ground lost all appearance of a field and became one great mass of dark carboniferous limestone, and the rocky floor presented a unique spectacle that he was never to see the like of even on the continent of Europe. The whole surface was split up into numerous long and deep fissures in the cool clefts of which the hart's-tongue fern grew. The brilliancy and profusion of the wild flowers that flourished everywhere around delighted him : the hare-bell of a blue unusually deep ; large mauve-tinted wild geraniums and the

golden rod mingled with wild ' maiden-hair ' and other ferns. He found most attractive of all a beautiful white flower which belonged to a very short-tufted plant. His mother told him it was the rare mountain rose : creeping along the clefts of the rocks, with a stalk no longer than his finger, it was covered with dark green leaves with a silvery lining. He saw another uncommon plant, a tall thistle with a golden blossom : there was one whose petals had dried in the sun and it had become a kind of everlasting flower. He started when his mother said : " Dicky, you're not listening to a word I'm saying about St. Mac Duagh."

When his father died, Dicky was sent to Clogh. He liked Clogh, as the library there was one of the best in the county and his uncle had lately enriched it with books on chemistry. He devoured these and was stimulated to experiment. Some of the experiments did not turn out too well. He nearly blew his fingers off the first time he mixed saltpetre and sulphur and charred fragments of wood to make gunpowder. He had great difficulty in persuading the family at Clogh never to breathe a word of that experiment to his mother. His grandmother intervened and saved him from heavy punishment when he burned brimstone in the coverts and asphyxiated the game, thereby ruining the ' shoot ' to which so many neighbours had been invited. Neither his grandfather nor his uncle thought that a laughing matter. His uncle taught him to ride, shoot, fence and cast a line, and he became quite expert in these accomplishments. The family chaplain, the Dominican, Father Nicholas MacNally, found him astonishingly apt at Latin, but not so strong at figures, yet attentive when he spoke to him of the evils of absenteeism, the wretchedness of most of the people, and the systematic degradation of Catholics. From his uncle Dicky heard about the Galway fighting gentlemen such as Blue-Blaze-Devil-Bob, Nineteen-Duel-Dick, Hair-Trigger-Pat and Feather-Spring-Ned. His grandfather told him tales of Captain Eaver and the houghing of cattle and sheep, and explained that houghing originated because the growth of pasture was restricting tillage and driving more and more of the people

to the bogs and the mountains, as new stockmasters appeared. With his grandfather he waxed warm when old Patrick French stormed against the demoralisation caused by the landagents of absentees, the "sporting gentlemen," the middlemen squireens who drank their claret out of rack-rents, hunted through the day, got drunk in the evening and fought the next morning. Pests of Irish society, grandfather called them, men who went about in laced coats from fair to race and from race to fair, gambling, drinking, ravishing and sporting, parading everywhere their contempt for honest labour and giving a tone of recklessness to society. Braggadocio, 'tread-on-my-coat' fellows, ostentatiously arrogant, eking out life with a song, a laugh and a boisterous prank, and apparently squeezing out of life more than it could hold. Admired by their degraded hangers-on, they set up false ideals amongst the people, making them look on idleness and extravagance as noble, on industry and effort as degrading to a gentleman. Their worst crime was that they succeeded in imposing their false standards of excellence upon the doleful people they were robbing.

Richard returned to Galway after his grandfather's death and attended the Erasmus Smith school[1] with his two younger brothers, while Patrick went to Poitiers. Richard continued at the school in Galway until his seventeenth year (1750). It was intended that he should become a Jesuit. A smuggler's ship took him to France to join his brother at Poitiers,[2] but when he arrived he found that Patrick had set out on the last lap of the Grand Tour and was now in Italy. Richard at once took a dislike to the academy at Poitiers. He overheard a reference to himself as "another Irish sailor's son who needs a lot of French polish." He went on strike and refused to speak French or

[1] According to the 1666 Charter the curriculum embraced "writing and accounts, the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues, and the fitting for the Universitie if desired." In 1820 the course of education at Galway comprised "the English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, composition in prose and verse, history, geography, the use of the globes, algebra, astronomy and the more useful branches of the mathematics." In spite of this formidable programme, Hardiman (*op. cit.*, p. 312) says: "the town is not distinguished for a superior brilliancy of education."

[2] From 1674 the Jesuits had conducted at Poitiers a college for clerical students from Ireland. Amongst eminent students of the University of Poitiers were Viète, the mathematician, and Bacon, afterwards Chancellor of England.

mix with any but students from his own country. He sat by himself during play-time and read the chemistry books he had brought with him from Ireland. He neglected the ordinary curriculum. His uncle, James French,[1] then living in France to escape the penal enactments against Irish Catholic proprietors, came to see him and sent an account of his unsatisfactory conduct to his mother. Mrs. Kirwan's letter of advice, sent in reply to a request for money for books, is the only Kirwan family document that has come down to us without being heavily censored *en route*. It was found amongst Richard's papers some forty years after his death and was evidently greatly treasured by him. His mother wrote (16 May, 1750):

My dear Dicky—I would write to you a good deal about your studies, if I thought it to much purpose; but I am pretty much of opinion that experience alone must effect what advice will not at present. I apprehend that chemistry, or some such abstruse study, takes up your time and attention too much; for I believe philosophy, rhetoric, or any such study which you are to go through regularly, after one another, won't require such a number of books at once. The consequence will convince you, I fear when it's too late, of your studying any thing but as you are directed; doing any more is but a childish curiosity that would not be approved by persons of sense here, whom I have sounded on this head; and I am sure it is so there; they say that beginning chemistry before one has studied philosophy is beginning the wrong end. How confounding must that be, and pernicious to the body and mind? The faculties of the one, and the strength and growth of the other, cannot but be hurt and weakened by it extremely, neither being come to perfection yet in you that are so young. Therefore, let me tell you, if you go beyond the dictation of your masters, you are ruined. I write you this early enough to prevent your doing yourself any harm; and my dear child, you can't imagine what comfort it would give me to hear that you take my advice in this particular. You see whether I have cause to be uneasy about it when I tell you the misfortunes of two that were eminent in that way [chemistry] [2]. . . .

[1] His daughter, Frances, married Bartholomew de Basterot (President of the Parliament of Bordeaux in 1770) who became heir to the Durus estates near Kinvara. Cf. *Studies*, June 1938, p. 302, and Fahey, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[2] Mrs. Kirwan proceeds to relate the misfortunes that, according to tradition, befel Furlong the inventor of Bath metal and Roger Bacon, the Franciscan monk, who invented gunpowder. She makes Bacon a Dominican, however. Possibly the Rev. Nicholas MacNally was to blame for this mistake.

There are several instances of people that were turned or touched, as they call it, by study, which makes me insist so long upon your not falling into the dangerous practice which I suspect you do, as you were so fond of it here, and not to be easily put off of what you would be inclined to. Your brother Patrick, if he had the greatest passion for any thing, I would require but just to let him know my reasons to disapprove on't, and he would be sure in a letter or two to answer my desire to the full, and seem ashamed to be the occasion of giving me so much trouble: he would let me know immediately that he will comply, and even without reluctance. What dangers has he not escaped, with God's blessing, by this happy temper! I read somewhere, in a French book, what I would have my children often consider; it runs thus: 'La plûpart des hommes employent la première partie de leur vie à rendre l'autre misérable.' This, you see, was a very just observation of the author.

I am so uneasy to satisfy you, I leave six pounds in Mr. Usher's hands to buy anything for you that you will have a mind to; but it frightens me to think you would buy books for it.

Write to me again about what books you want; if they be of chemistry, I'll never desire to know more of them. Adieu, dear Dicky; mind your health even for my sake, and take care of your immortal soul, that it may enter into the joys of our Lord, when you leave this valley of tears. Your grandmama French, who loves you greatly, often thinks of you and gives you her blessing.—I am, my dear Dicky,—Your loving Mother,—Mary Fr. Kirwan.

Had all the advice given in this letter been followed, the strong eccentricities which Kirwan developed towards the end of his life and the apostasy that in a decade or two he was to be guilty of, might have been avoided. However, the letter and a stratagem of Richard's tutor, who substituted French books on chemistry for the English ones, had some immediate effect. Richard got over his pique and home-sickness, and tackled the humanities so energetically that when he left Poitiers in 1754 for Paris and entered the Jesuit noviciate either at St. Omer's or Hesden in the Catholic Netherlands, he was considered so excellent a Latin scholar that he was appointed Professor of Humanity. Many of the French clergy who survived the Revolution acknowledged him as their best professor. One of his pupils was the Abbé Lynch, afterwards Vicar-General of Paris.[1]

[1] It was quite usual at that period to ordain students as soon as they had completed their humanity course. This custom was not followed in Kirwan's case on account of

Two family tragedies clouded this part of Richard's life. His mother died (about 1751) and his brother Patrick was killed in a duel in Dublin some years later. Richard in his exile recalled vividly his last walk with his mother: the view, transcendently beautiful, of the gentle hills of Clare across the silver of Galway Bay, the sun flushing the high cirrus clouds with strange shades, the winter's afternoon full of peace and holding a promise of Spring. He recalled Patrick's last visit to Poitiers (when Patrick increased his allowance to £300 a year), the chat they had at the main portal of Saint-Pierre, their walk to the shrine of Notre Dame des Clefs, their lingering in front of the weather-beaten façade. He felt there was some mystery about Patrick's death; for Patrick was an expert swordsman, like himself, while Patrick's opponent (he had been informed) was quite inexperienced in the art of fencing. Great unsettlement came on Richard. Neither Andrew nor Hyacinth could be trusted to manage the family affairs in these difficult times. It was his duty to go home and look after the estates and the tenants, whose care had now devolved on him. Yet would it not be ignoble to give up a vocation that was daily becoming more and more dangerous? The University had made subtle attacks upon the Jesuits when he was at Poitiers. But now, wave after wave of open hostility and fierce denunciation was breaking over the Society, heralding the storm that would soon sweep it out of France, suppress it throughout the world, and run on to the Revolution. For some time Richard could not make up his mind, and then in a letter from Hesden to a kinsman in Galway (May, 1755) he tells him he is about to abandon the noviciate.

On his return to Galway, Richard busied himself with family affairs.[1] He found that Andrew and Hyacinth were

his youth, his wealth, and his intention of becoming a member of the Society of Jesus. *Cf.* J. O'Boyle: *The Irish Colleges on the Continent*, p. 37, and W. J. Fitzpatrick: *Dr. Lanigan's Life*, Appendix "The Irish College at Rome." According to this curious document, the complaints of the Irish students against their Rector played a part in determining Pope Clement XIV to suppress the Jesuits.

[1] His appearance at this period is described by Robert MacOwen, father of Lady Sydney Morgan. "I remember well," he says, "when Richard Kirwan first returned from abroad to Cregg Castle, seeing him walk of a Sunday to the mass-house on the road side, in a rich suit of embroidered clothes; his *chapeau-bras* under his arm, and picking his steps along the dirty road, with brilliant stone-buckles in his shoes. He

spending money all too freely in London. The castle at home was neglected, the tenants wretched, and the agent, son of the former agent, a respectable and honourable Protestant, was one of those sporting gentlemen whom his grandfather used to denounce so strongly. Richard was confident that he could quickly remedy all these evils. He became very popular with the tenants. At Christmas and other festivals he threw open the servants' great hall to all comers—beggars, bards and story-tellers—after the old Connaught custom; and at night he took his place amongst them and made each guest tell a story, recite a poem, or sing a song in Irish. He had been full of enthusiastic patriotism when he left Ireland and had thought there was no poetry like Irish poetry, no music like Irish music. He was surprised to find that his taste for both had now changed somewhat, perhaps because of the Italian poetry and music he had started to study in Paris. He found, too, that in spite of the vast stock of knowledge which he had acquired in France, his education abroad had not fitted him for dealing with accounts and the worrying details of a large estate. He had no idea of the value of money and had small powers for administration. He had dismissed the unworthy agent and had with difficulty found a reliable one. The dismissed agent was threatening to have him "discovered." His brothers kept constantly writing to him for money. Even his favourite subject of study proved a source of disappointment. At the age of twenty-three he was acquainted with as much chemistry as was then known, and he had made some new discoveries himself. Dr. Black's researches on "fixed air" (carbonic acid) and the cause of causticity were then attracting attention. Richard wrote several letters to Black commenting on his views,

was a tall, elegant, comely young man then, and spoke good Irish, though somewhat too fond of interlarding his discourse with foreign phrases. He was then called in Irish a 'chi shim,' or a person of remarkable appearance." See Lady Morgan: "Book of the Boudoir." Mac Owen, who later changed his name to Owenson, was born in County Mayo in 1744. His religious principles were not as deeply rooted as those of his parents. Envying the swagger of the ascendancy and the social superiority of the Protestants, and feeling humiliation in his politically degraded condition, he apostatised. He got Goldsmith (with whom he was acquainted) to introduce him to Garrick. He figured prominently in Dublin as a theatrical producer, both with and against Daly of the famous Smock Alley Theatre, on the site of the present church of SS. Michael and John. See W. J. Fitzpatrick's "Lady Morgan."

but Black made no reply. Richard got so depressed at this discourteous treatment that he gave up all chemical research for a considerable time.[1] Richard began to ask himself if he had acted rightly in giving up his noviciate. Could he go back to it? Should he not abandon his estates and retire to the Society of Jesus on a pension of fifty pounds a year? Might he alienate his lands and devote the proceeds to the common stock of the Order? But what about the family interest? Having derived the property by descent, was he not merely a trustee of the reversion and therefore bound to preserve it in his name and family? After much consideration he felt disposed to continue for the priesthood, and he went to Dublin (1757) to get the advice of reliable friends as to the best manner of circumventing the penal laws and liquidating his properties.

In Dublin, Richard was told that his business could not be settled in a hurry, but would take some little time. Meanwhile he must pay his respects to the Galway families living in the capital. Their lavish hospitality, courteous flatteries and apparently disinterested advice soon extinguished the last sparks of a weak vocation. Nets were spread by designing mothers for the young philosopher of nice manners, handsome person and large fortune (his estate was now worth £4,000 a year). Without great difficulty he was persuaded that it was his duty to marry, and he informed his brothers of his intention of doing so. He was invited everywhere, made much of, and he enjoyed his social successes in those Dublin drawing-rooms which had a brilliance of their own, less artificial than those of Paris and less restrained in tone. He enjoyed especially visiting the house of his relative Lady Blake, mother of Sir Ulick Blake of Menlo. Dowager Lady Blake, née Elizabeth Burke of Tyaquin, was celebrated

[1] He and Black afterwards became good friends. Joseph Black, author of the theory of 'latent heat,' was born at Bordeaux in 1728 of Irish parentage. He was sent to Belfast for his education. He entered Glasgow University when eighteen and studied chemistry under Dr. Cullen. He completed his medical curriculum at Edinburgh. In 1755 he published *Experiments on Magnesia, Quicklime and other Alkaline Substances.* This paper excited great attention: it explained the manner in which lime-water acted in alleviating the excruciating pains of stone and gravel. Black died in 1799. It is only in recent times that the importance of his 'latent heat' researches is being appreciated.

for her poetical talents.[1] Richard found her intelligent and well-informed without being a blue-stocking. She was clever and could tease him with quotations from the " Provinciales." She had caught the atmosphere of the brilliant and fashionable French *salons*. She was familiar with the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and D'Alembert. She had a useful smattering of the philosophy whose dictators were Condillac, Helvetius and Holbach. She had the latest gossip and scandal from Paris. She told Richard of the *affaire* Antoine de la Valette of the Society, his recall from Martinique accused of trading, the impending disaster of his commercial ventures and the probable repercussions. She knew of the accusations that Pombal was making in Portugal against the Jesuits. She talked of other less gloomy matters and unostentatiously paraded the virtues of her daughter Anne. Richard was greatly taken by Anne's quiet manner after the high-powered conversation of her mother. Anne was restful and admiring. Her perfectly timed " how *wonderful !* " and " how *interesting !* " and " you must be a *genius* to know all *those* things ! " were so sincere and so soothing and so true. Lady Blake gave a big party for Anne's birthday, and Richard was the guest of honour. " Anne has four thousand of her own, you know," Lady Blake managed to whisper to him as he went into supper. Richard never afterwards knew rightly how it happened. The wines, he knew by his head next morning, flowed freely. But next day, Sir Ulick and Lady Blake called and congratulated him on his engagement to Anne, and neither of them believed in long engagements. Richard put a good face on the matter and agreed with them. After all, Anne was a charming person. The marriage took place. Immediately after the ceremony, the bailiffs arrived and took Richard to lodge in Newgate on account of his wife's debts. Yes, Anne had a fortune of £4,000, but she had not been able to turn her

[1] In 1716 she married the seventh Baronet, Sir Thomas Blake, of Sommerville, Co. Galway. He was the son of the sixth Baronet, Sir Walter, and Anne, daughter of John Kirwan. " Sir Walter was the first Catholic gentleman of distinction that joined the standard of the Prince of Orange and obtained a commission from his highness to raise a regiment, which he maintained and clothed at his own expense." See " Blake of Menlough," Burke, *Peerage*, 1896, p. 114.

estate into hard cash and meanwhile, with the assistance of her mother and her brother, had succeeded in getting heavily into debt. Richard remained in Newgate until his agent sent sufficient money to satisfy the creditors.[1]

In spite of feeling that he had been tricked into marriage, Richard lived happily with Anne for eight years, until her death. He felt sore against the Dowager and never quite forgave her. There were two daughters of the marriage, Elizabeth, who in 1792 married Colonel Hugh Hill of Mount Hill, County Armagh, a Protestant, and Maria Theresa, who in 1793 married John Thomas, the fifteenth Lord Trimleston, a member of one of the most distinguished Irish Catholic families.[2] They were born at Menlo, the seat of the Blakes, where Richard lived for several years after his marriage. He had got tired of Dublin social life, he was very much in love with his wife—who was already showing signs of delicacy and required special attentions from her mother—and he wanted to get back to his studies. At Menlo he collected an excellent library and fitted up a laboratory where he frequently spent eight hours a day. Here in his native Galway I shall leave him for a while, as he applies himself to the job of bringing some sort of order into the welter of empirical data, conflicting doctrines of three four or five elements, authoritative superstitions and half-debunked alchemy that was then called chemistry.

P. J. McLaughlin

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[1] Anne's fortune was the subject of litigation after Kirwan's death, as it had been made part of the dowry of one of his daughters: eventually it was recovered. According to a bill filed in Chancery, Kirwan's marriage to Anne Blake took place in February, 1757.

[2] Both marriages are mentioned in Burke: *Peerage*, 1896, p. 736 and p. 1435.

AN UNPUBLISHED EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRANCO-IRISH MANUSCRIPT

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

REMEMBERING the thousands of Irishmen settled on the continent during the seventeenth and subsequent centuries, so many of whom in various spheres there had careers of distinction and romantic adventure, one sometimes wonders at the almost complete absence of any records of personal experience or works of imaginative literature left by them. The reminiscences of not a few of them would be of interest. One would wish to know the thoughts and emotions, in their exile under new skies, of those particularly who at home had sacrificed lands and fortune for a high cause and knew the bitterness of the bread of exile and the heart pang of climbing another's stairs. It is of course true that a considerable output of books of a devotional and theological nature by Irishmen took place from presses at Louvain, Paris and elsewhere, but only a negligible number of those belonging to the domain of profane literature exist. That gallant soldier and knight-errant, Charles Wogan, in his *Narrative of the Escape of Princess Clementina*, tells what may well be an immortal story—it thrilled Europe in its day—though it is but an incident in his chequered career. Another swordsman of renown, Gerald O'Connor of the princely house of Offaly, gives in his *Memoirs* a fascinating account of his continental experiences after the débâcle at Limerick in 1691. And in later times Wolfe Tone and Colonel Myles Byrne tell us in their *Journals* of their varied activities, of their thoughts and feelings abroad.

I had an opportunity recently of reading a manuscript from the pen of an Irish priest, Father John Kavanagh, who spent a considerable part of his life in France during the eighteenth century.[1] Comprising 280 closely-written octavo

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. Father Edmund, C.P., for a loan of the MS. He discovered it some months ago among the papers of the library at Mount Argus, where it seems to have lain for many years.

pages, it is autobiographical in form, and the language throughout is in English, of which the writer has an excellent command. Its contents, embracing the period 1749–1784, are mainly devoted to his French journeyings, and he narrates events and gives his impressions in an animated style and often with a quiet humour. Not the least interesting portion covers the period during which he acted as commissioned chaplain in the French navy when, in the war between France and England, his ship was engaged in several battles. And in all his journeyings, whether by land or sea, he meets numbers of his fellow-countrymen, whose names and avocations he carefully records.

The narrative begins with an account of his boyhood in Ireland. He was born, he tells us, in a pleasant vale named Anagh near the town of Gorey in the year 1749. At the age of five he began to attend various hedge schools of the neighbourhood, and his account of their masters is often vivid and amusing. The first of these whose name he remembers was Laurence O'Byrne, who soon "abandoned pedagogy for the profession of pedlar and hairmonger." He was succeeded by another named Dillon, a confounded drunkard, who was as ignorant as his predecessor but far more wicked—and severe. "His masterpiece was the Catechism and the whipping of his pupils, and his usual afternoon lecture was generally interrupted by the sobs of his whipped pupils." In his fourteenth year young Kavanagh was placed under the tutelage of a "very profound Latin scholar and Graecist," named Matthew O'Byrne, who was bred up for the church, but whose left arm necessitated amputation owing to a fall from his horse. In his nineteenth year the young student sat at the knees of a Latin teacher near Gorey, one William Kelly, a native of Headford, Co. Galway, who had travelled in France and had taken part in the troubles of the "Forty-five." And by this time Kavanagh had so far advanced in his studies that he began the translation of the Odes of Horace and was composing original songs and verses that spread abroad in the baronies of Forth and Bargy and were for long afterwards sung round the firesides there.

Finally after an interview with Dr. Sweetman his bishop, n the middle of the year 1774, he made rapid preparations or his ordination as a priest. After ordination in October, ie went home to Anagh where his parish priest instructed im in the ceremonies of the Mass, which he celebrated a ew weeks later. At this time in Ireland it was the custom o ordain priests, though they had received no training in heology or Philosophy. Immediately after ordination they vere sent abroad to study these subjects in a continental eminary where, by the stipends received for Masses and by eting as chaplains to wealthy families, they were able to upport themselves for some years. In accordance with his custom, Father Kavanagh in May 1775 set out from Dublin for France to pursue his studies in the Irish college t Nantes. The perils and burden of travel at the period re shown by such an entry as this in his Diary : " Saturday, May 6, 1775. At 4 in the afternoon I sailed out of the port f Dublin . . . By 6 o'clock we were advanced almost near Vicklow Bay, when the wind varied and came right about gainst our course, which obliged us to turn back ; and by ome difficulty we made good the harbour of Dublin, where ve came to anchor."

Within a few days he again sailed and, reaching the French oast, proceeded by horse and stage-coach to Nantes. Dr. Daniel O'Byrne was then Rector of the Irish college there, Dr. Tady O'Brien, a native of Limerick, was the professor f Philosophy, while the professor of Divinity was Dr. James anigan of the diocese of Ossory, " a profound physician nd scholar." Under these Father Kavanagh began his tudies on the first Monday after All Saints in the year 775. It is a little disappointing that in his narrative he gives o account of the daily life at the college. He thus chronicles ie death of the Rector under the date of December 7, 1778 :—

> Dr. O'Byrne, our Superior, was seized this day, all on a sudden, w a paralytic fit, of which he died on the 23rd at ten in the afternoon, ter being Superior of the Irish Seminary for the space of 27 or 28 ears, which he governed with great prudence. We interred him the Parish Church of St. Nicholas on Christmas Eve. His death

was greatly lamented by the greater part of his subjects and by persons of the first rank and condition in the City of Nantes.

Dr. O'Byrne was succeeded by John Walsh, Doctor of the Sorbonne, regarding whom Father Kavanagh makes some adverse comments. The discipline introduced by the new Rector, he remarks, was so severe that he "rendered himself odious to the whole house."[1] One result was that some of the students betook themselves to French communities to finish their studies, while others left for various places in the country about Nantes, where they became *vicaires* and chaplains. Father Kavanagh himself became chaplain to the family of the Marquis de Lambilly, at their country seat near Kergrois, with whom he lived for two years. At the end of this period he returned for a short visit to Ireland, which he had left six years previously. On hearing of his arrival in Dublin in March 1781, his relatives and friends were so joyous that a considerable number of them rode up from Wexford to the capital to meet him. Accompanied by these, he set out for his home at ten o'clock at night, and midway on the journey many others joined them.

A few months later he set out again for France, where he was welcomed by the Marquis de Lambilly, at whose chateau he again lived as chaplain for a short time. A conflict was then raging in Europe between England on the one side and France allied with Spain on the other. At the suggestion of a fellow-countryman, Father Murtagh Somers, who was chaplain to Count Menou, Governor of Nantes, Father Kavanagh resolved to become a chaplain in the French naval service. Having procured a letter of introduction from the Commissary for War at Nantes, he proceeded to Brest where his host was Father John Mehegan, a Carmelite friar and a native of the diocese of Cloyne, whom he praises highly for his character and generosity :—

He received me like a true-born countryman with affection, which he often made appear by marks of tenderness and goodness.

[1] The new Superior was a distinguished ecclesiastic in France who belonged to the illustrious Franco-Irish family of Walsh de Serrant, and the strictures passed on him by our author are open to some doubt. For one thing, some facts would

He was a friend to any country-man in distress. His heart, his house and his cellar are all three open to any countryman, and his protection no less—which is of no small worth in the town of Brest.

On May 2, 1782, Father Kavanagh was appointed to the *Active*, a Man-of-War with 74 guns and 796 souls on board, as whose chaplain he acted till the end of the war a year later. In July the *Active* and other vessels put out to sea, and spent some time cruising round the English Channel chasing enemy vessels. On July 25 a sharp engagement took place with a privateer from Guernsey which surrendered with its crew. Among these were three Irishmen, "Mr Flanagan from Wicklow, Mr Dunne a citizen of Dublin, and Mr Casey from Limerick." Father Kavanagh's narrative at this stage takes the form of a diary, in which he gives a vivid and detailed account of his duties. He celebrated Mass daily on board and, with special solemnity, on Sundays and Holydays :—

After the Captain has given notice for the hour of Mass he orders a drummer to beat a rat-tat-to three different times, leaving an interval of two minutes or more between each ; finally the bell is rung and a red flag or streamer is hoisted to the end of the cross jack-yard to announce to the ships of the convoy and to other ships that have no chaplain that Mass is ready to commence on board, thereby to unite their intentions at the Sacrifice. The chaplain is now vested and ready to commence. A drummer and two sentinels, with their muskets and bayonets, come before the altar and stand each side of the Celebrant when he begins Mass, and remain in the same place and posture to the end. The drummer announces the commencement of Mass and the time of the Elevation by a rat-tat, at which time flag or streamer is raised and lowered three times by one of the pilots to announce to the convoy and to other ships the time of the Elevation.

24 August 1782. At 10.30 I celebrated Mass for the repose of the soul of Monsieur Montfort, a naval lieutenant who had died and whose body was launched into the deep on the previous day. During Mass the ship had such motion that I could scarce hold myself to the altar. I had a man employed holding the chalice for fear of being overset by the sudden jerks which the roughness of the sea occasioned.

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tend to show that a slack discipline prevailed in the college shortly before this period. And Dr. Walsh, who was later Superior of the Irish college at Paris, was, by his tact and ability, instrumental in saving that institution during the Revolution.

4 September 1782. At 3 in the afternoon I absolved and anointed one of our aid chirugeons named Goudon from near Caen in Normandy, who was in a deplorable state, having a kind of convulsive fits of madness. Since he fell ill, his aspects were horrid, and shrieks and cries no less; his speech was abomination, and he was scarce a moment free from trembling.

Many deaths occurred on board from various causes, such as wounds received in action, malignant diseases and unsuitable food. The chaplain always assisted at the burials at sea—an elaborate ritual of which he gives a vivid description :—

When a person dies on board, the chaplain advises the Lieutenant of the First Order, or Lieutenant of Marines. This officer orders the interment to be made at such an hour. The man is no sooner dead than the master sailmaker is advertised to give a piece of old sail-cloth to cover the body, which it is the duty of the under-sailmakers to sew about the corpse. The Master Cannoneer is advertised also to give a bullet which is sewn up at the feet of the dead in the last winding sheet. When the hour of interment is arrived, the chaplain goes on deck and gives notice to the officer of the watch that an interment is to be made. He prays him to order four sailors down to where the corpse lies to carry it and cast it out when the ceremonies are over, and two Cannoneers to open the porthole hatch by which the corpse is to be launched into the deep. The officer of the watch calls one of the quartermasters on duty and tells him to order such things to be executed forthwith. The master blows his silver whistle and orders four men down from the deck for the interment, which follows in the usual manner marked in the ritual. The chaplain comes to where the corpse lies, covered with a surplice, stole and cap, his ritual in one hand and an asperges or holy water sprinkler in the other, and performs that ceremony in a low voice without great solemnity, beginning with the oration *Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo* . . . until in fine he makes the sign of the cross over the dead and says *requiem aeternam* . . . The men employed cast the corpse out, and no more is heard or seen of it after . . .

By the autumn and winter the *Active*, with other French warships, had moved south and was manoeuvring round the coasts of the Spanish peninsula. In several places Father Kavanagh went on shore, and it is interesting to find that he generally encounters there Irishmen pursuing various avocations. On the first of October 1782, at the port town of

Algeciras, he met at the local hospital a Father Laurence McKeon, its chaplain, a native of Kells, Co. Meath, who (he records) treated him most hospitably. He also met there a Father Michael O'Brien, chaplain on board the *Bien-Aimé*. On the fourteenth of November he went to Cadiz in the afternoon " to buy a pair of shoes," and by chance became acquainted with one Robert Callaghan, master shoemaker, from Cork, " who treated me with a great deal of civility and politeness " ; and, while waiting on the quay for the boat to bring him back to his ship, he was accosted by Father Cummins, a Carmelite friar from Galway, with whom he had a long interview. A few days later he became acquainted, in the same city, with " Mr. Quirke, an Irish priest from the diocese of Ossory," with Father Dillon, an Augustinian friar from the Co. Mayo, and with Father Felix McCabe, " chaplain to Monsieur de la Motte Piquette." These do not exhaust the friendships he made there—he records the names of others : Dr. O'Kelly, an Augustinian friar from Co. Galway ; Father Negan of the same Order, who was chaplain to the Ultonian regiment in the Spanish service ; Mr. Martin Meagher from Golden Vale, " the flower of Ireland and Co. Tipperary, who lost a leg I know not by what mischance, but to supply that defect has a wooden one and much of the soldier in his eye " ; and Mr. O'Kelly, an old bachelor from Dublin, " a man of great sobriety and steadiness."

On the 4 November 1782 he again visited Cadiz and found the city *en fête*. Being the feast of St. Carlos, it was a day of great jubilation throughout Spain. The forenoon was spent by the citizens in devotion and prayer, while the afternoon was devoted to bull-fighting. Many pages of his narrative are given to a detailed and picturesque description of the latter, the scene of which was beside the Cathedral :—

'Twas four in the afternoon when I was conducted to the third gallery, where I was seated in the midst of a company of Spanish ladies who made a beautiful figure ; for they had the wished-for gifts of nature in general and the advantage of a costly dress which gave again to the bounties of nature an extraordinary lustre . . . Within five minutes I saw a large double door fly open almost opposite me,

through which there entered into the area a huge black bull, which had a bell hung from his neck, and thus peaceably [he] preceded nine others of a reddish hue across the area to another door of the same nature and from right opposite the former, into which he entered before his companions; having thus deluded them into a place made designedly for their serenity under the amphitheatre, he is set forth from them that are destined for slaughter and battle and victims to the blade of a subtle enemy, and led to his stall by his owner's servant. In fine, the trumpet sounded the charge! Three cavaleros or horsemen were mounted in the court by this time, each having in his right hand a pole of cedar wood about nine feet in length, at one end of which was a lance fixed of near an inch in length . . . At the sound of a trumpet a bull is admitted to bound in open air. Out he starts! the sight of the spectators and their clamour render him more furious; his eyes are like globes of fire . . . On he rushes to gore the next horseman! but the artful cavalero, on his near approach, stung him on the shoulder plate with his lance, which galled him in such sort that he sprung off on one side and made his second assault on the next rider in the list, who served him as the former . . .

An illustrious Irishman in the Spanish army, General Alexander Count O'Reilly of Baltrasna, Co. Cavan, whose name was famed throughout Europe, was at this time Governor of Cadiz. Father Kavanagh tells how one afternoon in the city he saw his distinguished fellow-countryman taking the air in his coach. He was preceded by two livery men on horseback, each carrying a naked broadsword in his right hand, whose points were poised in air, and pistols in the holsters of their saddles—" the custom in Spain for a man of his dignity."

The war between France and England ended in February, 1783 and, two months later, our author seems to have resigned his appointment as naval chaplain. Leaving his ship at Toulon, he set out for Marseilles, where he spent a short time, again meeting there a number of his fellow-countrymen. He then travelled north by Aix, Tarascon, Nîmes and Montpellier, and gives an interesting account of these towns. On April 28 he went by coach to Trebes, where he recounts a characteristic experience of himself and his fellow-travellers :—

Coming to the Inn which was, I remember, the only one in the place, we took up our lodgings. We had a kind of supper prepared for us, which was very indifferent and not sufficient for half our number . . .

I was more hungry rising from the table than I was in approaching it. Our hostess, moreover, whose hair was of a fiery hue, was the true-born daughter of Xantippe, a she-Devil, if there be but one on earth, and 'tis not to be doubted but she had some other imperfections as great and as bad as the former, which modesty alone forbids me here to mention. Add to the misfortune of meeting with a bad supper and a scolding brawling redhaired Land-lady that we were obliged to lye double . . .

Resuming his journey, he came to Toulouse and Bordeaux, where he visited the Irish colleges that were then in existence in those places. At Toulouse he met the Superior, Father MacCarthy, belonging to an illustrious Irish family long resident in that town.[1] He describes Father MacCarthy's study as "crammed with old St. Thomas', St. Jerome, St. Basil and the works of all the rest of the holy Fathers, some of which lay flat on the floor." After a little while the Superior left him to divide the soup in the refectory with the priests and pensioners, and he remained alone with 10,000 books. He comments adversely on this lack of hospitality, and remarks that there was nothing to be seen in the establishment that could delight or charm him. Next day he moved on to Bordeaux, at whose Irish college he was treated with every imaginable politeness by its Rector—who, unlike "the boors of Toulouse, offered him both meat and drink."

Towards the end of May, 1783 he journeyed north for Brest through Rochefort, Rochelle, Vannes and Quimperlé, experiencing many vicissitudes on the way. On arriving at his destination, he was preparing to set out for Ireland but felt a longing to see his old college at Nantes before doing so. At Guingamp, on his way there, he met a Mr. Sullivan, an Irish brewer settled in that town, who treated him "with much honour and hospitality." After visiting his *alma mater*, he journeyed to Angers, where a little Irish colony seems to have been established. Among others he met there Mr. Doyle, who introduced him to his companions, Messrs. Murphy and Garvey, and in a short time "to all the priests of the town."

[1] He was of the family of Justin MacCarthy Reagh who was born at Springhill, Co. Tipperary, where his ancestors settled after losing their property in Cork and Kerry. He left Ireland and settled at Toulouse. He was interested in the fine arts and was a great book collector, possessing one of the finest libraries in Europe.

Later, making the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. Trener from the province of Ulster, he describes a convivial gathering :—

13 May 1784. We had a great and plentiful dinner this day at Mr. Murphy's lodgings, at which were present and not idle seven Irish priests, Captain Kavanagh from Borris, Co. Carlow, son to Mr. Simon Kavanagh, an officer of a Salt office about four miles from Angers. After dinner we went to the Tennis Court, where we drank a dozen of Holland beer which was most excellent. We all supped where we dined, after which we drank down some round half-dozen of good Touraine and Burgundy wines . . .

During his stay at Angers the Superior of the Missions in the town spoke to Father Kavanagh of an Irish gentleman living at Amiens, who was Vicar-General of that diocese and Rector of its college. He was the Rev. Richard Ferris, a native of Co. Kerry, who ten years later, after the outbreak of the Revolution, abandoned his sacred calling, married and during the war between France and the allied monarchies of Europe, played a perilous part as a spy for both sides.[1] Father Kavanagh, anxious to settle in France, wrote to him offering his services; but the reply, cold and polite, was very discouraging. While at Angers our author describes a visit he paid in its neighbourhood to Mr. Dean, an Irishman, who resided at the château of Deluigne near Chateaugontier :—

His garden and library are what I saw there most curious : after dinner he conducted me to the chateau of Beaufiviere, a country seat belonging to the gentle-woman, his mother, where, when I arrived, he showed me the genealogy of his noble ancestors in Ireland, written in Latin, with a translation in the French tongue, of which latter I took a copy . . . the genealogy was both signed and sealed by the keeper of the seals of Ireland in the year 1692.

Father Kavanagh's Diary ends abruptly soon after this—the last entry is dated 12 October 1784. Nothing is known of his subsequent career beyond the fact that, in the year 1800, he came to Rathdrum parish, where, from 1802 till his death in 1825, he was parish priest. His grave is still pointed out in the little churchyard at Greenane, Co. Wicklow.

RICHARD HAYES

[1] There is a detailed account of the strange career of the Rev. Richard Ferris in my *Ireland and Irishmen in the French Revolution*.

GEORGE FAULKNER AND THE IRISH CATHOLICS

BY CHARLES O'CONOR, S.J.

Part III*

THE bulk of Dr. Johnson's weighty pronouncements were, it has been well said, given in support of received opinions. When, however, James Boswell, in his anxiety to learn Johnson's opinions on each thing in turn, raised the question of Catholicism, he found, somewhat to his surprise, that Johnson's opinions were a remarkable contrast to the more ordinarily received opinions of his day. Given the beliefs held by Catholics, Johnson saw nothing very repugnant in their manner of worship, and showed considerably more understanding of Catholic teaching in general than was common with Protestants of the time. "So, Sir, you are no great enemy to the Roman Catholick Religion," ventured Boswell. "No more, Sir, than to the Presbyterian religion," was the reply . . . "Nay, Sir, of the two I prefer the Popish . . ." Whereupon Johnson launched out into a more detailed consideration of some of the tenets of the Catholic Church.[1]

Just as Boswell ventured to raise the question of the "Roman Catholick Church," in order, as he said, "to hear so great a man upon it," so too when occasion offered he was eager to learn Johnson's views about Ireland. These he found also determined and bold. "The Irish," maintained Johnson, bursting forth with a generous indignation . . . are in a most unnatural state, for we see there the minority prevailing over the majority. There is no instance, even in the ten persecutions, of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholicks . . ."[2] "He had great compassion," says Boswell elsewhere, for the miseries and distresses of the Irish nation, particularly the Papists; and severely reprobated the barbarous policy of the British Govern-

* For Parts I and II see issues of September 1935 and June 1936.

[1] *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (Boswell): Everyman's Library ed. Vol. I, p. 375.

[2] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 484.

ment, which he said was the most detestable mode of persecution. To a gentleman who hinted that such a policy might be necessary to support the authority of the English Government, he replied: "Let the authority of the English Government perish rather than be maintained by iniquity. Better would it be to restrain the turbulence of the natives by the authority of the sword, and to make them amenable to law and justice by an effectual and vigorous police, than to grind them to powder by all manner of disabilities and incapacities. Better (said he) to hang or drown people at once, than by unrelenting persecution to beggar and starve them."[1]

But despite his interest in Ireland and his generous sentiments towards the Irish Catholics, Johnson, for reasons best known to himself, showed a persistent disinclination to visit Ireland in person, though repeatedly urged by Boswell to do so. His acquaintance with conditions in Ireland was therefore acquired by reading and by what he learnt from Irish friends. Among these latter George Faulkner had an honourable place and was in all probability one of those chiefly responsible for the tone of Johnson's views. Across what must certainly have been a vista of many years Johnson could still recall in 1773 an interchange concerning Ireland between Faulkner and himself. He was on the eve of departure from Edinburgh on his long postponed Tour of the Hebrides when by way of entertaining a group of admirers before sitting down to dinner, he recounted the incident. "Before dinner he told us," says Boswell, "of a curious conversation between the famous George Faulkner and him. George said that England had drained Ireland of fifty thousand pounds in specie annually for fifty years. 'How so, Sir,' said Dr. Johnson; 'you must have a very great trade.' 'No trade,' came Faulkner's prompt reply. 'Very rich mines?' 'No mines,' was the reply. 'From whence then does all this money come?' pressed Johnson. 'Come,' rejoined Faulkner, 'why out of the blood and bowels of the poor people of Ireland.'"[2]

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[1] *Life of Samuel Johnson* (Boswell), Vol. I, p. 389.

[2] *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (edited along with the Life, by Percy Fitzgerald), p. 545.

The sentiments here revealed were thoroughly characteristic of Faulkner's outlook upon the Ireland in which he lived. Since the early days of his association with Dean Swift he had imbibed something of the Dean's own rancour against the shameless way that Ireland was exploited by English statesmen, though his outlook was more generous than ever Swift's had been and was uncoloured by any sense of personal grievance such as distorted Swift's vision. For Faulkner the expression "the poor people of Ireland" meant—what it would not have meant for Swift—the Catholics of Ireland. Swift had no time for the Catholics or even the Presbyterians. But Faulkner, like Lady Orrery, soon discovered, for all the difficulty of the task, that neither the one nor the other squared with the pictures drawn of them by their enemies. Lady Orrery's confession, written to her husband in 1751, is a most interesting record and deserves to be reproduced :—

> Swift's bias against Presbyterians, I am confident, did a great deal of harm in keeping up that spirit of division amongst us, so unworthy in Christians, sowing dislike in the breast of one honest man to another honest man. This I know by myself till your superior reasoning made me look on all prejudices as unjust, a great folly and indeed a great wickedness. I held both Presbyterian and Catholick in the utmost abhorence. I never considered that not having been educated in the same Church made difference only in point of faith, but I esteemed Presbyterians not what I know many of them are, men of sense, learning, and honesty, but as cunning, designing, canting, ignorant hipocrits; and for the Roman Catholicks, I thought every one of them held a knife at my throat, and though amongst others of their principles I must ever condemn the persecuting spirit of the latter, yet I have so far got the better of these wrong prejudices as to see the merit of persons in both sects, and to pray to God Almighty that he will be pleased to break down the middle wall of partition between us.[1]

Lady Orrery was already many years dead and buried before even the first stones were removed of this "dividing wall." George Faulkner, who outlived her nearly twenty years, was likewise gathered to his fathers before more than the most distant approaches towards removing it had been made. Yet could he but have had his way, the

[1] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. II., p. 254.

advance would have been more rapid, for his ambition was " to make all the world friends and agreeable to each other . . . and to cure all prejudices and make the world happy "[1]—a lofty aim at least, however difficult of achievement.

In the *History of the Irish Catholics* (published in 1813) George Faulkner is spoken of as one of the first " proselytes "[2] to the Catholic cause. But in so far as the word suggests a one-time antipathy in Faulkner towards the Catholics it is misleading ; for almost from the very beginning of his business career he gave evidence of an inclination to befriend them.

This good-will showed itself at the start as much by restraint as by any positive sponsorship of the Catholic cause. In the early years of the *Dublin Journal*, when to be anti-Catholic was synonymous with loyalty, no advantage was taken by Faulkner of the disrepute in which the Catholics were held. On the contrary, in the relatively few instances where reference is made to the Catholic community, it is usually to illustrate either their peaceable behaviour and good dispositions or to plead in behalf of the misery to which they were reduced. Upon the accession George II, for example, in 1727, Faulkner took the opportunity of drawing attention to the address presented to the new king by the leaders of the Catholic party in Ireland.[3] In January 1734, lest an insufficiently qualified statement in an earlier issue of the *Journal* should prejudice the position of the Catholics, he inserted the following : " The Paragraph inserted in our last, relating to some arms seized in the possession of Roman Catholics, was not designed to cast the least aspersion on that body of people ; nor was there any found in the custody of anyone, excepting some guns which were taken from a Popish gunsmith in Big Ship Street, who acting contrary to the laws of this Kingdom hath we hear absconded."[4] Later during the terrible period of famine 1740-41 and again in 1757, Faulkner utilized every opportunity to win compassion for the sufferers, most of whom were Catholics. Almost the only

[1] Faulkner to Charles O'Conor, Feb. 4th, 1768. MS. B.1.2. R.I.A.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 254.
[3] *Dublin Journal*, July 22nd-25th ; 25th-29th, 1727.
[4] *Ibid.*, Jan. 19th-22nd, 1734.

definitely unfriendly act towards the Catholics, if not the only one, which can be laid to his charge is that in 1745 he was partner to the production of a series of bitterly anti-Catholic *Farmer's Letters to the Protestants of Ireland* written by Henry Brooke. Yet even here with strange inconsistency, at almost the same time that these papers were being put through his press, Faulkner was, at the request of "several Roman Catholick Gentlemen," drawing attention in the columns of the *Dublin Journal* to the way in which the Catholic clergy of the city had for some weeks past "earnestly recommended to their people to behave themselves peaceably and quietly like good subjects . . ."[1]

From this time forward the publication of such "Exhortations," as they came to be called, became a regular feature of the *Dublin Journal*, which also recorded from time to time the deaths of various Catholic clergymen, with brief appreciations. In October 1748, for example, we read: "A few days ago died the Rev. Mr. Coleman O'Shognessy, Titular Bishop of Ossory, a man truly pious." In January 1753, the death of "Mr. Lawrance Richardson, Titular Bishop of Kilmore, an Eminent Roman Catholic Divine," is announced; in 1757, at somewhat greater length, the death of Dr. Clinch, one of the Vicars General of the Diocese of Dublin;[2] in 1759, the death of the Parish Priest of Raphoe; in 1751, with an unusually long encomium, the death of Dr. John Sweetman; and in 1763, where *Pue's Occurrences* and the *Dublin Gazette* have a bare record of the passing of Dr. Lincoln, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Faulkner notes it thus: "Tuesday last died the Most Reverend Doctor Lincoln, titular Arch-

[1] *Ibid.*, Oct. 15th-19th, 1745: the number Mar. 29th-Ap. 1st, 1746, contained notice of a further address from the Catholic clergy to their flocks.

[2] *Dublin Journal*: Oct. 29th-Nov. 1st, 1757. "In Rosemary Lane the Reverend Dr. John Clinch, many years Parish Priest of St. Michael's in this City, universally lamented for his great and good Qualities both in private and public life. He was a man of sound Judgement and consummate Prudence, a true Friend to the Poor, a real Father to his Flock, whom he was no less zealous to instruct by Example than Precept; and in his truly pathetic Exhortations he never failed to enforce a peacable and submissive Behaviour to the Government."

Ibid., Dec. 1st-4th, 1759: Rev. Mr. Francis Dunlevy, Parish Priest of Raphoe, in the 77th year of his age, famous in the knowledge of the Irish Language, a great proficient in French, qualified in all that belonged to his state and condition, living humble and discreet: much lamented by all who enjoyed his acquaintance." The notice concerning Dr. Sweetman is too long for reproduction here.

bishop of Dublin. The Lamentations of the Public are a melancholy Proof of a general Loss: those who knew him intimately weep for the loss of a man who was only governed by the Dictates of Religion, Humanity, and Friendship." A later record shows Dr. Patrick Fitzsimons, Dr. Lincoln's successor, in company with Mr. Anthony Dermot, one of the most active of the Catholic Committee in Dublin, actually guests at dinner at Faulkner's house in Parliament Street.

That Faulkner, as the century advanced, should thus speak so generously, so respectfully of Catholic priests and prelates was not surprising; for though not properly speaking a proselyte to the Catholic cause in the strictest sense, his advocacy of that cause became unquestionably bolder as the years passed by. The author of the *History of the Irish Catholics* claims that Dr. Curry's *Dialogue on the Rebellion of* 1641 and other works published about the same time (1753) were responsible for the increased earnestness with which Faulkner supported the cause of the Catholics. This may well be true; but it must also be remembered that, in proportion as the dread of the machinations of the Catholics against the State abated, so did the disastrous consequences of their long enslavement stand out more clearly.

By his antecedents and profession Faulkner was from the first free from that sense of guilty insecurity which harassed those whose rise to affluence and honour was stained by a record of spoliation and of plunder. The object of his endeavours was to achieve a similar emancipation for the rest of his fellow Protestants in Ireland. This he essayed to do by taking prompt advantage of the deliverance of any "Exhortations" of the kind referred to above; by accepting for his paper odd paragraphs in their own defence from the hands of Catholics themselves; by printing the addresses of the Catholics to the Viceroys, and by sponsoring the publication of a succession of able pamphlets on their behalf. From his press came *Seasonable Thoughts on our Civil Constitution* (1751); *The Case of the Roman Catholics* (1755); *The Protestant Interest Considered* (1757); a further group of *Farmer's Letters* (1760), which made ample amends for the *Letters* of 1745, and the *Tryal of the*

Roman Catholics (1761). The first three of these pamphlets were the work of Charles O'Conor of Belnagare, an indefatigable worker in the Catholic cause ; the others were written by Henry Brooke, in the pay of the Catholics, from notes supplied by Charles O'Conor and Dr. John Curry. These pamphlets, which ran into more than one edition, ranked among the foremost written in defence of the Catholics at that time and for long afterwards.

George Faulkner's good-will extended even further than this. When in 1755 Lord Limerick and Dr. Clayton, the Protestant Bishop of Clogher, were planning a new Catholic Registry Bill to supersede the Bill of Queen Anne's time, Charles O'Conor and Dr. Clayton were, by Faulkner's instrumentality, brought together in conference in the hope of facilitating matters and obviating misunderstandings.[1] But as Lord Limerick and Dr. Clayton were at heart anxious rather to hurt than help the Catholic cause, Charles O'Conor soon found that the common ground between himself and Dr. Clayton was small and that there was little chance of their coming to any agreement. Still, despite the failure of the plan, it was a striking tribute to Faulkner's influence and sincerity that he should have undertaken to bring together a Protestant bishop and a Catholic gentleman at such a time.

Two years later Faulkner acted as intermediary once again, this time between Charles O'Conor and Dr. Johnson. A presentation by Faulkner to Dr. Johnson of a copy of Charles O'Conor's *Dissertations on the Ancient History of Ireland* drew forth a flattering letter of congratulation to the author. The receipt of this note at once fired Charles O'Conor with an ambition to get Johnson to write something in favour of the Irish Catholics. He wrote to Faulkner to know what he thought of the proposal and transmitted to him later a letter to be forwarded to Dr. Johnson, with an assurance that he would see to it that Johnson's labours would not go unrequited and

[1] O'Conor-Faulkner, May 4th, 1757, Brit. Mus., Eg. 201. *Bedford Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 263-67.

that he was supplied with material of a suitable kind to help him.

O'Conor—Faulkner,
May 10th, 1757.

Enclosed I send you a letter to be forwarded to Dr. Johnson. From the contents you must surely judge that I am myself in earnest become a Rambler. I request you will make my apology to him on this account. I would engage him in the case of an innoxious people, punished by law for no other reason but because they are mistrusted by the law-makers. Your engagements with the public brought you acquainted with the chief men of this party. And you cannot think so meanly of their honour and gratitude but that they are as willing as able to make Mr. Johnson a suitable return could he be prevailed upon to undertake the service of the Public so far as it can be connected with their manumission from bondage. You who acquired so much popularity by weekly paragraphs in favour of the National Interest and who have spread your influence by keeping clear of party reflections are the fittest man I know to negotiate this affair secretly with our people. Dr. Jennings will assist you with his own interest among them, and I need not mention many more to you who certainly will be far from putting the least slight on a project which, if brought to bear (with ye friend beyond the water), is indisputably the best laid which could be thought on for restoring us all to that condition in which King William wisely left us. I shall din and sollicit my friends in the city on this subject as soon as you give me leave. I am in the meantime with the greatest affect., etc.

May 25th, 1757.

My learned friend Dr. Jennings will, I know, to the utmost exert himself in the affair which I trust you will be enabled to negotiate with Mr. J . . . n. You happily opened and you have been a long time opening a treaty of peace with a party hitherto very obnoxious on the score of religion. It is our business to pursue with great earnestness such a treaty, if possible, to its conclusion. If we fail, we shall fail with honour—at least with a better impression than any which zeal could hitherto give or prejudice receive. And is not that gaining a great point ? Materials from Acts of Parliament and from Reason, previous and often superior to all acts of popular Assemblies, shall not be wanting to your friend if he can be won to act in this one capacity for the Public (may I say) for his own fame . . .[1]

George Faulkner readily undertook to apprise Dr. Johnson of this proposal and of a " retainer of fifty guineas " which

[1] MS. Eg. 201. Brit. Mus.

was later agreed upon. But for reasons best known to himself Johnson let the matter drop, so that for all his good-will nothing finally came of Faulkner's efforts.[1] Yet this was in no way his fault and takes nothing from the generosity with which he carried out his share of the negotiations.

Being a constant visitor at Dublin Castle, Faulkner utilized his privilege to bring different pamphlets in favour of the Catholics to the notice of successive viceroys. His hospitality also was far flung. What Richard Cumberland remarked as distinctive of social life in Dublin as compared with London, that " the professions were more intermixed and ranks more blended " there than in the English capital, was true in its own proportion of Faulkner's house. People of the most varied kind gathered there upon occasion and all were welcome.[2] Under his roof men who would have hesitated to pass each other on the same side of the street sat down and conversed together; and from the " amicable collision " of persons of different religion and politics much good followed. " I know and I have felt also "—wrote one of Faulkner's prominent Catholic friends—" the great good you do by bringing all parties together, making them happy under your roof and pleased with one another. Perhaps it never occurred to yourself that you have been the instrument of that effect, but it is undoubtedly the case."

After 1762 the scene of these gatherings was no longer the house in Essex Street, where (as has been told in an earlier article)[3] Faulkner opened business in 1730. For in 1762 it was finally decided to open a new street connecting Essex Bridge (modern Grattan Bridge) directly with Dame Street and Cork Hill. The execution of this design involved the demolition of Faulkner's house and shop " opposite the bridge," and in June 1762 he announced a forthcoming

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[1] According to the account in the *History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 254, the initiative would seem to have been taken by Faulkner in this matter. The above letters show him acting rather upon a request from elsewhere.

[2] " If it be a happiness, I have that pleasure of being visited by most foreigners who come hither and how can I help showing them the civilities of my table at which people of all religions and countries are very welcome." Faulkner-Charles O'Conor, Nov. 17th, 1767. Eg. 201.

[3] *Studies*, Sept. 1935.

transfer of business to Blind Quay (present day Exchange Street). A fortnight later the transfer was effected. Even so the new premises in Blind Quay, for all their commodiousness, were not intended to be permanent. Faulkner had already acquired a site on the new street, where he contemplated the erection of a new shop which would succeed to and consolidate the traditions of his Essex Street establishment.

But the opening of Parliament Street and the erection of the new buildings which skirted it was a slow procedure. Almost three years to a day elapsed between Faulkner's first announcement of departure from Essex Street and the appearance of the following lines which heralded his return :—

George Faulkner, Printer and Bookseller, is removed from the Blind Quay to the corner of Parliament Street opposite to Essex Bridge (modern Grattan Bridge) and the Custom House, where he will carry on the Printing Business in all various Branches, dispose of Books in different Languages and Faculties, and Stationery Ware of every kind and most humbly hopes for the Favour and Countenance of all his worthy Customers and the Publick in general, whom he has always endeavoured to serve in the best Manner in his Power ; and most humbly returns Thanks to his kind Friends and Benefactors for their long and repeated Favours to him upon all Occasions . . . [1]

The hope of public favour herein expressed was not belied. The new shop in Parliament Street was soon one of the best known establishments in the city for its hospitality as well as for its flourishing trade. The *Dublin Journal*, which issued regularly from its counters twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays,[2] had itself become one of the recognised features of Irish Life. Fifteen years earlier, indeed, Lord Orrery questioned whether the majority of " Gentlemen in Ireland went further in literature than Urban's English Magazine and Faulkner's Irish Journal." [3] Faulkner himself, in 1754, claimed that not only had his paper the " best circulation of any in Ireland " but that many copies of it were sent regularly into

[1] *Dublin Journal*, May 28th-June 1st, 1765.

[2] This was the way for the first forty-three years of the *Journal's* existence. In February 1768, however, an " Extraordinary " Thursday number was published for several weeks to cope with an election rush. From March 26th of the same year a regular Thursday number of the *Journal* was decided upon.

[3] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. I, p. 319.

" England and elsewhere," so that of all the papers of its kind it was " the most publically and universally read, not only in this Kingdom (Ireland) but all over England and other parts of Europe." [1]

Faulkner was a man of few prejudices himself, and he respected those of others. From the outset his journal reflected the easy friendliness characteristic of its proprietor. He prided himself that " Blasphemy, Irreligion, Immorality, Lewdness, Profaneness, Impiety, Scurrility, Sedition, Scandal or Falsehood " never found any place in it. And he challenged those who cavilled at occasional blunders to convict him of being other than " a good subject, a useful Member of Society, humane to his Fellow Creatures and a true friend to his Country."[2]

Instances of the manner in which he maintained this character are not far to seek. He was ever ready to assist those in distress of whatever kind; he pleaded constantly for the " poor Debtors " in the Marshalsea prison; pilloried falsehood circulated about Ireland in the English press; pleaded incessantly the cause of Irish manufactures; and was to the end a firm opponent of a union of the English and Irish Parliaments.[3] We have seen also his efforts on behalf of the Irish Catholics and that he early became a member of the *Physico-Historical Society*, established in 1744 for the promotion of research into Irish history and natural resources. In 1756 he was elected a member of the Dublin Society,[4] a more exclusive body whose energies were devoted to similar ends. As a member of this Society he probably widened his circle of friends and was brought into contact with others of similar ways of thinking with himself. At all events he was from about this time forward upon terms of considerable intimacy with most of the leading men in the various departments of life in Dublin and contributed to the stimulation and unification of their efforts in various ways.

[1,2] *Dublin Journal* (Extraordinary), Feb. 21st, 1754.

[3] *Dublin Journal*, April 17th-20th, 1762; Sept. 18th-20th, 1762; Oct. 29th-31st, 1772, and elsewhere also.

[4] Dr. Berry, the Society's historian, confesses himself unable to date Faulkner's admission with exactitude. But a comparison of the names in the lists of members published annually in Watson's Almanac shows Faulkner's name appearing in 1756 for the first time.

In much the same way as he transmitted a suggestion from Charles O'Conor to Dr. Johnson concerning the Catholic cause in 1757, so in 1763 he transmitted a further suggestion from the same source to Dr. Francis Stoughton Sullivan, a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, concerning the transcription and publication of the texts of some early Irish manuscripts. The disfavour into which historical studies had fallen in Ireland seemed to threaten a loss of all the national records of early times. Dr. Sullivan was one of the few men of standing at the time who showed any interest in this field of work. The *Physico-Historical Society* was now no more, but Charles O'Conor hoped that a tithe at least of Ireland's great literary legacy might be saved for later ages, if Dr. Sullivan, who was a member of the Dublin Society, could be brought to approach the Society for a grant of funds. Though, apparently, he knew Dr. Sullivan in person to some extent, he hesitated to approach him directly and invited Faulkner's kindly interposition.[1] The project appealed at once to Faulkner, and he readily added his support to the suggestion made by Charles O'Conor. But except for an interchange of several letters between Dr. Sullivan and Charles O'Conor on the matter nothing further came of it. George Faulkner, however, showed the sincerity of his desire to forward Irish historical research in many other ways besides this. Not long after the negotiations with Dr. Sullivan, he turned the tables against Charles O'Conor himself and succeeded in inducing him to settle down to the preparation of a second edition of his *Dissertations on the Ancient History of Ireland* first published in 1753. Faulkner had also a good deal to say to encouraging two other historians, Dr. Thomas Leland and Dr. John Warner, to turn their talents to Irish history, and he put them in touch with those who could help them. When later in 1772, largely through the instrumentality of Colonel Charles Vallancey, a Committee of Antiquarians was formed from among the members of the Dublin Society, Faulkner was one of his most enthusiastic supporters and undertook to produce at his own expense, if necessary, an edition of O'Flaherty's *Ogygia Vindicated*, the

[1] Correspondence of C. O'Conor; R.I.A. MS.B.1.1.

manuscript of which was one of the first acquisitions of the new Antiquarian Committee.

Alongside such activities and associations he had, of course, other interests and friends also. Apropos of one of his visits to London, Lord Chesterfield, who coveted his company, complained in a half joking tone to Dr. Chenevix, Protestant Bishop of Waterford :—

> I question whether you will ever see my friend George Faulkner in Ireland again, he is become so great and considerable a man here in the Republic of Letters : he has a constant table open to all men of wit and learning, and to those sometimes who have neither. I have been able to get him to dine with me but twice, though otherwise I must do him the justice to say he lives with his old friends upon the same easy foot as formerly.[1]

Four years later Faulkner himself took occasion to express thanks publicly in his *Journal* for the generosity he experienced at the hands of his friends in the course of a trip round Ireland.[2] Yet I think it is safe to say that he nowhere received greater hospitality than he was ever ready to dispense himself, when opportunity offered. In later years at least, as some random records show, the Viceroy was at times his guest. Lord Townsend (1767) in particular showed him outstanding favour. He reached Dublin in October, about the middle of the month, and a few weeks later Faulkner wrote to a friend :—

> Instead of my going to the Castle to wait on the Lord Lieutenant, I was visited by his Excellency this day Fortnight, which was a very great surprise on me. when he came to my shop incog. attended by an Aid de Camp, made Enquiry for me, asked was I at home ? was I busy ? or anyone with me ? Upon which he was shewn into the Parlour when I was at Breakfast. He asked me how I did ? shook me by the Hand, when the Aid de Camp whispered me, that that was the Lord Lieutenant on which I desired His Excellency to sit down and then immediately entered into conversation with me, asked me the reason

[1] *Miscellaneous Works of Lord Chesterfield* (Maty), Vol. 3, p. 364.

[2] " George Faulkner, Printer hereof, having been lately in the country on account of his Health and particular Business, takes this Opportunity of returning his most humble Thanks to the Noblemen, Gentlemen and many of his Customers, for their kind and hospitable Entertainment : he also returneth his most grateful Thanks to several Noblemen and Gentlemen of Distinction, for the kind Invitations they were pleased to send him ; which he is extremely sorry he could not accept for want of Time, and most humbly hopes to be excused for not waiting on them, according to his wishes ; he likewise requests that he may be forgiven by others who sent Letters to his House in his Absence, which Letters shall be answered with all possible Speed, and the Commands therein complied with as Opportunity permits." *Dublin Journal*, Aug. 28th-Sept. 1st, 1764.

I was not at the Castle ? I said I was twice. When ? Once with the Lord Mayor and once with the Merchants to address you. Then, Sir, said he, since you know the way to the Castle I shall be very glad to see you. On Friday following he called again to see me, looked at some books which he desired I would send home. When I went to the Levee on Sunday the Aid de Camps told me I was enquired for by Lord Townsend who directed that I should be presented to him in the Drawing Room : which, as soon as he entered, upon my being shewn to him, he came up to me, took me by the Hand, was very glad to see me there, and thanked me for my expedition in sending him the Books, one sett of which were Orrery's Pliny in which he wrote his son's name. All this happened in the presence of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Speaker, the Judges and many others of great distinction. Previous to this I was visited by all his Household excepting Lord Frederick Campbell.[1]

A further letter of some months later adds other details :—

My Lord Lieutenant continues to be extremely civil to me. I have dined with him at Leixlip and at the Castle, and he hath done me the honour to eat with me under my Roof, and the last Time Dr. Leland was of the Party. I never invite any of my friends upon these occasions, but request his Excellency to invite his own Friends[2] and to fill the table, which he does with the best chosen people of Rank, Fortune, Learning, Wit and Humour. I wish you were acquainted with his Excellency you would be charmed with him for his ease and freedom. He likes Ireland better than any other Country in the World, particularly the Lake of Killarney and the Hills of Cabinteely near Dublin, and he says that Quebec in America is the third Prospect in the World. . . .[3]

In July 1767, just prior to Lord Townsend's arrival in Dublin, George Faulkner had the distinction of being elected High Sheriff for the City. But finding himself unequal to the burdens it involved, he paid a fine of £113 15s. 0d. to the Blue Coat Hospital and was excused from serving.

In pleading bad health at this time, Faulkner was not exaggerating. He shared the weakness of his generation for Burgundy and the wines of Bordeaux and was as a consequence stricken with gout. In a letter to one of his friends in Nov. 1766 he wrote : " Your advice about my health is extremely

[1] MS.B.I.I., R.I.A. Nov. 17th, 1767.

[2] In the *Autobiography of Mrs. Delany*, Ser. 1, Vol. I, p. 436, we are told how she acted in a similar fashion when the Viceroy dined at Delville.

[3] MS.B.I.I. R.I.A. No date given.

kind and friendly. But what can I do who have such numerous acquaintances ? I will tell you that I eat very little and slow and never drink but sip my wine, as I do tea which prevents my stomach from being clogged or overloaded." It is said too that during the strawberry season, in pursuance of the instructions of his doctor, he was in the habit of putting a strawberry into the bottom of his glass " for its cooling properties." [1] A notice in the *Dublin Journal* early in 1770 shows him further on route for Bath to seek a restoration of his health.[2] This trip to Bath must have proved reasonably successful, for later in the same year 1770 he was, though he had several times already declined the honour, elected an Alderman by his Dublin friends. Presented with a *fait accompli*, he accepted the honour with the utmost grace and was scrupulous in recording his gratitude. " Mr. Faulkner," he wrote, " returns his most grateful thanks to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Common Council for the honourable Trust they have reposed in him, and assures them that he will embrace every Opportunity of using it, to the best of his Judgement and Power, for their Interest and Advantage." [3]

But even as he made this avowal, it must have rung hollow to his ears. For years now Faulkner had felt death creeping gradually upon him. Not that this caused him anxiety or fear. He had lived conscientiously according to his lights and, as he averred, was ready to render his last account whenever he should be called upon to do so. " I am not afraid of death," he said in 1767, " as I am very sure God will be merciful to me a Sinner by the Death of our Blessed Saviour." [4] But despite the fact that " age and infirmities " led him to withdraw more and more from " the printing Business," which was carried on in his stead by his

[1] *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland*, (Ed. 1807) Vol. I, p. 232.

[2] *Dublin Journal*, April 26th-28th, 1770: " George Faulkner, Printer hereof, being much indisposed and confined by a painful Gout and other complaints for some Time past, is advised to go to Bath for the Recovery of his Health; and therefore most humbly hopes, that such Persons as are indebted to him, upon any account whatever, will be so kind as to pay him, which will be most gratefully acknowledged: and most earnestly requests, that if there be any people who have any Demands upon him, that they will be so kind as to send in their accounts, and they shall be instantly paid."

[3] *Dublin Journal*, Nov. 15th-17th, 1770.

[4] MS.B.1.1., R.I.A.

nephew Thomas Todd Faulkner, he lived on for many years still and remained genial and friendly to the end. A memorandum of the year 1774 mentions the Earl of Harcourt (the Lord Lieutenant), Lord Lifford (the Lord Chancellor), the Earl of Westmeath, the Honourable Thomas Fitzmaurice, Colonel Skeen, Mr. Wallis, Alderman French, Mr. Lees, Captain Jephson, Mr. Butler, Capts. Loftus, Hamilton and Schomberg as guests at dinner in his house in Parliament St. on August 18th of that year. Just over twelve months later, the last number of the *Journal* for August 1775 carried the announcement of his death, which (as a contemporary writer expresses it) found him " in full possession of an unblemished character, happy in the esteem of all ranks who had the pleasure of knowing him, and beloved by his fellow citizens."

When his will was opened it was found that just as he had lived so had Faulkner died. " Contrary to the common mode of bequests "—we are told—" Mr. Faulkner left legacies to such of his relations only as wanted them or were in some sort dependent on him." For the rest his estate was distributed mainly in charities. Swift's Hospital for Lunatics, the Blue Coat Hospital, the Lying-in-Hospital, the Alms Houses of St. Nicholas Without and St. Werberg, the Inns Quay Infirmary, the Hospital for Incurables, received varying sums each ranging from £100 to £15. Besides these the Hibernian School for Soldiers' Children, the Marine School for Soldiers' Children, Stephens, Mercer's, The Lock, St. Nicholas, the Meath and Dublin Hospitals were left £10 each. Thomas Todd Faulkner, George Faulkner's nephew, succeeded to the printing business in which he had been already for some years associated before his uncle's death. It was he too, no doubt, who was responsible for the erection, in St. Kevin's Churchyard, of the imposing stone which marked his grave.

CHARLES O'CONOR

FATHER JOSEPH DARLINGTON, S.J., 1850–1939

An Appreciation

BY EMERITUS PROFESSOR JOHN HOWLEY, D.LITT.

> "To do some work and in that work take joy
> For the work's sake and not the worker's pride
> To give to God some deed without alloy
> Of Self, to be His tool desiring naught beside."

My academic connection with Old U.C.D. began in 1884, and for six or seven years my university life was centered in the old house in Stephen's Green. There are very few left now of that old guard. If you look up the matriculation lists in *A Page of Irish History* for the first two years, 1883 and 1884, you can almost count the names of the survivors on one hand. The third name in the year 1883 is Joseph Darlington. What member of Old U.C.D. (1883–1909) can think of the old college without seeing, in his mind's eye, that alert and cheerful figure, the embodiment of energy and optimism. Yet he was not one of those who compel attention, who take you into custody mentally and morally. Some thought him effusive, but his effusiveness was thoroughly well-bred, that of the English public-school man in the best sense of the word. We were still in the glacial epoch of Irish culture, when we walked softly and were timid socially. That pleasant English manner, which asserts without being assertive, was a slightly strange note to us. All through "our long sunny and equable friendship" I found Father Darlington a thorough Englishman—English not in the caricatural sense as we take it

> "Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
> I see the lords of human kind pass by,"

but the English as they are at home, among themselves, at their best.

Father Darlington was a humble Englishman, to use an oxymoron, "an Israelite without guile." There were a couple of other very distinguished English converts among the Jesuits at U.C.D. in those days, but their Englishry stood out "like quills upon the fretful porpentine," and we felt it. But it was quite other with Father Darlington. He had come to live in Ireland; he was a loyal denizen of our land, not spiritually a bird of passage. He fitted himself thoroughly into our scheme of life and consumed his own smoke. Poor Father Hopkins could never fully hide his anguished horror at our very mildly rebel politics, and got what he asked for. The

poet Bridges thought we killed the poor man, but this was only English propaganda. Newman was wiser, he had learned wisdom years before. Father Darlington had this wisdom from the beginning; though he had English eyes, he wore Irish spectacles. He could see our point of view and agree with it. He was such a man of agreement that we were sometimes vexed and used to lay little plots to get him into the Serbonian bog of contradiction. We were very young then! I think he pushed the rule of being all things to all men to an extreme which shocked our simple combative natures. Father Darlington's favourite phrase "Capital! Just my idea!" became quite legendary at Old U.C.D. and often, to our youthful minds, was full of Machiavelian duplicity. We were so very raw! Perhaps he overdid the technique of the Eastern shepherd, but it did more for some of us than the ash plant of the Western drover.

On the speculative side I do not think that Father Darlington influenced us very much in those old days at U.C.D. He never seemed at home in dealing with abstract topics. He spoke and wrote with great charm about the concrete, the factual; the pages he contributed to *A Page of Irish History* are delightful, and that little book *The Dilemma of John Haughton Steele* is a gem in its way. But when he wrote and talked about philosophical and spiritual questions of any complexity, his style was very involved, diffuse and often tedious. He seemed to get lost in a maze of symbolism and illustration. I think he lacked a certain power of abstract thought. Now we, of anything, were all too fond of abstractions; youth loves to chop logic. Those were days at U.C.D. when "we heard great arguments *de omni re scibili et quibusdam aliis*. Without malice he tangled us up from time to time at the Literary and Historical and elsewhere. When Father Darlington cut loose on some literary question and deluged us with symbolism, we thought it a good joke. It was a great mercy of Providence that we never saw one of Father Hopkins' poems! We were plain good students without a trace of literature in our make-up (exam. work, of course, excluded). W. P. Coyne was our only amateur of *belles-lettres*. Today it is somewhat different.

Father Darlington was, of course, well read in Thomist philosophy but I think he was caught too late to get the system into his blood that is to say for an Englishman. Newman never got into the slant of Scholasticism; St. Thomas is only a source book for him, like the writings of the Fathers. The post-Reformation Englishman is an incurable Nominalist kippered by three centuries of Protestant prosperity. With the best of good will the convert finds Scholasticism not merely difficult but airy, unreal—notional, as Newman calls it. If Philosophy is but a mental construct to give an air of verisimilitude

to a bald narrative of events, some fancy orchestration is not out of place to give a dry series colour and system. Like the Pope in Portadown, Metaphysics has a bad name in Wigan (the birthplace of Father Darlington). Those of us who have imbibed the *philosophia perennis* from the days of our first lessons in Catechism hardly realize the difficulty of a convert Anglican Rector, as was Father Darlington, accommodating his mental content and intellectual habits to the mind of the Catholic Church in its full richness and rigour. One may acquire a new language solidly and fluently, but there will remain perhaps a touch of native accent—not without charm and utility. Converts, like Father Darlington, can speak, as none of us can, to our separated brethren. He understood them. And many in the wilderness heard his voice.

The most notable figure in Old U.C.D. was unquestionably Father William Delany. He embodied the College. You can readily gather from *A Page of Irish History* the why and wherefore, but only in mere outline. We will not know his real magnitude until the Society of Jesus sees fit to publish his full-length *Life and Letters*. He, more than any other Irishman, was the creator of the National University. He not only built up U.C.D.—not in stone, that was left to his successor—but in men and spirit. If Father Darlington at all indulged in hero-worship, Father Delany was his hero. But if William Delany was the Richelieu of U.C.D., Joseph Darlington was the Éminence Grise, the Père Joseph of the Dictator.

Father Delany was not one of those men one can like afar off; you must know them intimately to love them. I only knew him officially as a student, and like the others—we were very young then—I thought him rather imposing in the wrong sort of way. He had a very impressive appearance and a very remarkable voice. It was a platform voice, very clear and resonant. When he spoke, one thought of the Last Trump—"Tuba mira spargens sonum." When Dr. Molloy brought the early model of Edison's phonograph to U.C.D. he got Father Delany to make a record. Word soon went round among the students that when Father Delany heard his own record, he nearly fainted. I can well credit the tale, for hearing one's own voice for the first time—*experto crede*—is a most humiliating experience. Now we students only heard Father Delany speak in public or in private with perhaps greater discomfort. We definitely classed him as a good speaker, but commonplace. His real work, his battles by letters, on committees and conference, for our College we knew nothing about. It was years after the event that I heard some parts of the story from Father Darlington and realised how very short-sighted we had all been and how unjust to our grand old chief.

Both as Scholastic and as priest, Father Darlington was Father

Delany's chief-of-staff, observer and liaison officer with the students of Old U.C.D. We thought him rather a break on our energies, for we did not know what a corkscrew road we were travelling and how our President, in his efforts to build up a new College and secure its future, had to deal not alone with our natural enemies but with false brethren. Again and again that future was nearly wrecked. He had not merely Irish politicians to consider, but the Castle. "Our masters then were not at least our countrymen." Father Delany had to walk warily, and often Father Darlington had to check our youthful enthusiasm. Naturally their caution was unpopular. You get some of the story in *A Page of Irish History*—just enough to whet the appetite for more. The desideratum, as I have said, is that full-length Life and Letters of William Delany which is long overdue. If we did not suffer in Ireland from a super-Chinese anxiety to save the face of the eminent in political and ecclesiastical life, we would have had the Delany Correspondence long ago. We are too dreadfully afraid of our own un-doctored history.

During the period I lived in London (1891 to 1907) my contacts with Old U.C.D. and with Father Darlington were few and far between. My interest in the various phases of Anglican controversy and other matters of Catholic import kept me in touch with him, as he was always keenly interested in Anglican matters. It was his one great interest, apart from the day's work in Dublin.

Towards the close of my London domicile in 1907 and after that to the end of his life, I saw another Father Darlington, one I had not known, for I had only known him superficially at Old U.C.D. in my student days. I learned then to know Joseph Darlington as a friend. God reward him for all the good he did me then in the darkest hours of my life. He gave me courage to begin life all over again and to hold fast when everything went wrong. He had some almost miraculous power of radiating his own cheerful optimism; the brisk way he ran down the stairs or stepped into the room to greet you was an encouragement to effort. He had the secret of the cure of accidie, the black noon-tide demon that paralyses the soul. His "Capital, capital! Just my idea," much as we smiled at it in prosperous and eupeptic days, was a real pat on the back to the tired soul. Only now that he is gone, can I see all this clearly and recognise that grand background of Christian service deep behind the surface of a great English gentleman. *Ave atque Vale et in patria memineris nostri.*

JOHN HOWLEY

REVIEWS

Nazism and the Church

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. By Dr. Nathaniel Micklem. (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute for International Affairs). Oxford University Press. 1939. 10s. 6d.

NAZISM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY. By Mario Bendiscioli. (Translated by Gerald Griffin). London: Skeffington. 1939. 10s. 6d.

It is exactly one year since *Studies* published an article on "The New Kulturkampf in Germany." The occasion was the appearance of two books: Count d'Harcourt's *Catholiques d'Allemagne*[1] and the Dean of Chichester's *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany.* This year brings Dr. Micklem's and Signor Bendiscioli's contribution to the problem of Church and State in Germany. Dr. Micklem's book is the first to be published in a series of studies on the relations between Church and State initiated by the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It is excellently produced on good paper and with several illustrations. The text is free from printer's errors. Signor Bendiscioli's book has not been so fortunate. There is some careless spelling of German words (Erlanger for Erlangen, Pfatorenkirche for Pastorenkirche, Liebnecht for Liebknecht, Bremen for Barmen, Harth for Barth, Gelrud for Gertrud), and there are many paragraphs (as on pages 8, 23, 55, 67, 98, 109, 146, 159, 177, 190, 198, 205, 209, 211, 216, 237, 243, 245, 248) where either through hurried translation or omission of particles or verbs or faulty arrangement and style the sense is difficult if not impossible to ascertain. The title of Monsignor Hudal's work on page 177 is given as "Rom, CHRISTENDOM und deutsches Volk," where it should obviously read CHRISTENTUM. On page 166 the "mother tongue" is spoken of as an "*impassable* (?) element"; there is a reference to "*magisterial* (?) schools"; "*Neogermanism*" is used on page 214 as an *adjective*; and there are many errors in dates, which may be due to the author or the translator or the printer. On page 146, 1934 should be 1933; on page 150, 1935 should be 1933; on page 153, 1934 should be 1933; and on page 218, 1934 should be 1924.

These books—strictly objective, impartial and admirably documented—should leave the reading world in no doubt as to the sternness of the struggle that is being waged by the Church in the Third Reich. The claim of National Socialism to dominate the whole life of the individual can no longer, in 1939, be treated as the heady wine of a revolutionary group—to be watered down when the responsibilities of office are assumed. Such a claim is, in fact, shown to be pushed

[1] A translation of this book, in an abbreviated form and under the title *German Catholics*, has just been published by Burns Oates & Washbourne (7s. 6d.).

forward and enforced in every domain by all the powers of the strongest centralized government the modern world has yet seen.

Dr. Micklem, whose objectivity is limited only by his traditional Christian outlook, examines *Mein Kampf* and *Der Mythus des 20sten Jahrhunderts* for their bearing on the six years' struggle of the Roman Catholic Church. He finds, as did Count d'Harcourt before him, that it is impossible to reconcile either work with the teaching or the practice of the Roman Catholic or the Protestant Churches. To those who would object that these books say more than their authors now mean Dr. Micklem proves, in an historical survey of the years 1933–1938, that the National Socialist government is not only realising the ideals but is using the methods outlined in *Mein Kampf*. In answer to those who deprecate the significance of *Der Mythus* or the importance of its author in the new order of things, Dr. Micklem offers irrefutable proof of Herr Rosenberg's dominating influence in the educational world and particularly in the training of the leaders of party groups.

Dr. Micklem and Signor Bendiscioli have much in common in their view of their subject matter. Bendiscioli's field is somewhat wider inasmuch as he deals with the attempted Nazi unification of the Protestant Churches and with the complicated problems to which it gave rise—as well as with the question of solidarity as between Catholicism and Protestantism. Dr. Micklem's theme is the position of the Roman Catholic Church over against the new order. They both stress the fundamental character of the conflict—its inevitability, its basic issues, the stern reality of the persecution. They expose the fallacy: that those only are persecuted who are *politically* active against the State and that if one is a loyal German, there is no threat to one's religion. They show that National Socialism is not solely a State policy. It is a Way of Life—a Creed—and is expounded as such—not always with the same frankness towards the general public—but with unvarying consistency in the Letters of Instruction to the party groups as well as in the speeches of Ministers and Leaders of Formations. Dr. Micklem is to be congratulated on his documentation, drawn for the most part from the utterances of those in authority amongst the Party. Signor Bendiscioli is also "at home" in the literature of the problem.

Dr. Micklem rejects the idea so often put forward: that the attacks upon the Church are not willed by Herr Hitler who, in this respect, is supposed to be badly served by his men. He shows that the form and tempo of these attacks are in full accordance with the Fûhrer's professed principles and practice. Bendiscioli devotes a good deal of attention to the quality of National Socialist Anti-Semitism, which (involving as it does the doctrine of racialism) must necessarily issue in a conflict with the Christian Churches. The phrase "Positive

Christianity," which is so frequently used by National Socialists on the defensive, is examined in the light of Herr Hitler's and Herr Rosenberg's utterances, and the disastrous consequences to the Church of an optimistic interpretation of its meaning are exposed.

Dr. Micklem in specific chapters and Bendiscioli generally throughout his book show the impossible position of the Church over against a Party which *is* the State—a Totalitarian State. The destruction of the Catholic Press is described and the manner in which the whole publicity system is in the grip of the Party. There is, therefore, no chance that the Church can be heard—except through the medium of the pulpit, and even this medium is being more and more controlled. What the consequences of pulpit protests against the Party's attacks may be everyone who knows the history of Pater Rupert Mayer or of Pastor Niemöller—to mention only two out of many—may judge for himself.

Particularly interesting is the chapter on the Concordat and on Herr von Papen's illusions as to the reconciliability of National Socialism with Catholicism. Dr. Micklem believes in the "good faith" of both the Heads of the Church and Herr Hitler, and he stresses the fact that in 1933 neither Rosenberg nor Goebbels was in the saddle. Herr Hitler failed to distinguish between Religion and a Weltanschauung; he believed the two could be kept apart. The Church did not see that Germany was later to be forced to accept not merely the government but also the philosophy of the National Socialist Party. The Concordat saw National Socialism as a political movement—not as a philosophy which has the binding force of a religion! "In actual fact the Concordat is now a dead letter."

The picture which is given of the Church and its sufferings is a gloomy one. Yet there is light in the darkness. Dr. Micklem's last sentence is: "With the passing of 1938 the Christian Church in Germany enters into a dark cloud, but it is unafraid. Nubicula est; transibit." Signor Bendiscioli stresses the patient and consistent efforts of official Catholicism in Germany, through apologetic writings, Pastorals, Church Papers and from the pulpit, to repudiate the false doctrines of National Socialism and to counter the ceaseless Anti-Christian Party propaganda with authoritative statements of the true position of the Church and her teaching. Amid the ruins of her great and splendid organisations, with her schools closed and her religious orders rendered inactive, she fights on, conscious of her inner strength and of the power of her Faith to console and of her doctrine to convince. Neither Dr. Micklem nor Signor Bendiscioli is unaware of the strong following of both Churches. They know that the unity of the Third Reich does not extend to the things of the Spirit and that many of the sons and daughters of that great and kindly people repudiate

utterly the pogroms and the persecutions that it pains her foreign friends to have to record. They are aware of courageous manifestations of religious solidarity in the face of attack, aware of the spirit that animates the German members of both Churches—and of the intensification of a Faith which is impregnable to assault however powerful.

These books deserve to be read and pondered and discussed. Signor Bendiscioli says: "Such a magnificent heritage of Christian interests is at stake in this conflict that indifference to its cause would be a grevious mortal sin . . . . We have just outlined the position of the opposing forces, leaving to the future to judge about the final result of the contest—which does not mean that the Christian conscience must remain neutral until the result is declared. And in fact it is not neutral." MARY M. MACKEN

Biography

LOUIS VEUILLOT. Sa vie, son âme, son oeuvre. Par Francois Veuillot. Préface de Paul Claudel. Paris: Editions "Alsatia." 1938. 20 frs.

LE VRAI LOUIS VEUILLOT. Etude psychologique et morale. Par Emmanuel Gauthier. Editions "Alsatia." 1938. 42 frs.

THE centenary of the birth of Louis Veuillot has been accepted as a suitable moment for the resuscitation of a once brilliant reputation that of recent years had fallen into obscurity. Hence we have not only the two weighty volumes before us, but the same publisher has embarked on a new edition of all Veuillot's writings: 14 volumes of his literary works, 12 of his Letters and 14 more of "Mélanges" (a selection from his voluminous journalistic articles).

The writer of the Life is the son of Louis' younger brother, Eugène, who was united to him by the warmest affection and who shared in his journalistic career. This explains, and in a measure excuses, the tone of undiluted veneration in which the biography is written. A more critical attitude would nevertheless have carried greater conviction. The second work consists of separate chapters commenting on Veuillot's qualities and defects, friendships, spiritual and intellectual gifts and so forth, a form unusual in itself but which is effective in conveying a vivid impression of the great journalist.

For it is as editor of the *Univers* that Louis Veuillot will be remembered, one of the greatest journalists the Paris press has known, admired by many, execrated by others, and wielding for over forty years a mordant pen that played no small part in moulding public opinion of his day. Absolutely sincere alike in his Catholic faith and in his personal devotion to Pius IX, he shewed himself at times more papist than the Pope, and the quality of his intransigeance was

such that during the Vatican Council he accused Cardinal Manning—of all men—of being too conciliatory in regard to Papal Infallibility. Thus, under his brilliant editorship the *Univers* could not be otherwise than the mouthpiece of the ultra-montane party in France, waging a relentless war against every trace of Gallicanism, against all Liberal tendencies by whomever professed and against all those who, in ecclesiastical as in political matters, believed that half a loaf was, at times, better than no bread. To such pernicious doctrine Veuillot would never give his consent, and hence we find him, for instance, combating the Loi Falloux on education because it granted less than what Catholics rightly claimed. And hence his repeated controversies both with Montalembert and with Bishop Dupanloup who, loyal Catholics as they were, were also political realists. In his wordy quarrels with the Bishop, both gave hard knocks and each was unfair to the other; but the result, from a public point of view, was wholly regrettable. Veuillot might repeat, and his apologists repeat with him, that he fought against causes and not against persons, that those he combated were adversaries and not enemies, and that his private sentiments towards them were always inspired by Christian charity. The fact remains that his adversaries felt personally attacked and too often responded with equal violence and far less brilliance of invective. Even Prof. Gauthier allows that Veuillot was more intolerant and more prejudiced in many of his judgments than he was willing to admit—for instance, he loathed England which he had never visited and could only think of her as *perfide Albion*. Under no circumstances could he shew himself conciliatory, and thus he must bear his portion of the blame for that cleavage between Catholic parties, for that religious and political disunion in the face of growing irreligion, whch has been a stumbling-block in the way of Catholic progress for the last hundred years and which Leo XIII tried, largely in vain, to bring to an end.

On the other hand, it is only right to remember that on various occasions, especially in his repeated controversies with Mgr. Sibour, Veuillot received the public support of Pius IX, that the only occasion (in 1872) when the Pope felt compelled to censure his tactless zeal over the Roman question, Veuillot submitted instantly and the personal friendship of the Pope was never withdrawn from his *caro* Veuillot. His repeated visits to the Eternal City are enshrined in his best-known work, *Le Parfum de Rome*, which possesses the charm of recalling the old Rome of Pius IX, the Rome prior to 1870.

What the two volumes before us rightly reveal is that in private life this bitter controversialist was the most devoted husband, the most affectionate, even sentimental, father and brother, and could claim warm friendships with men and women of every rank in life.

Perhaps his most intimate friend was Dom Guéranger, and he was wont to declare that the days he spent at Solesmes were the happiest in his life. Overworked throughout his career and shaken by deep family sorrows, his brain began to give way at the comparatively early age of sixty and his last years, with slowly decaying mental powers, were inevitably sad and lonely. Yet they served to bring out his deep faith and Christian resignation. Paul Claudel, in a characteristic preface, places Veuillot, with Bloy and Péguy, among the great Christian fighters whose faults of violence, he claims, were trivial indeed compared with the services rendered through most critical years to the Church in France. V. M. C.

LE DOCTEUR SCHACHT. By Henri Bertrand. Paris: Gallimard. 1939. Pp. 222.

INTEREST continues unabated in the economic resurrection of Germany and in the master-mind who directed the finances of the great re-armament programme. M. Bertrand's biography of Dr. Schacht is a useful introduction to the study of a remarkable man and his remarkable work. The notion, widely current among critics of so-called orthodox economists, that Dr. Schacht flouted and refuted the accepted principles of economic theory is shown to be completely erroneous. In fact, he was strictly orthodox in his principles if sometimes original in his methods; he was conservative rather than advanced; and, according to M. Bertrand, his retirement was due to the desirability of having a financier more generally regarded as a good party man, namely Dr. Funk, to enforce Schacht's unbending orthodoxy in the face of certain left-wing critics in the Nazi movement.

The history of Germany in the last seven years is a good illustration of what can be achieved in an economic system that is strictly controlled at every point. Nothing has occurred that cannot be explained in terms of orthodox economic theory. Economics may be regarded as the study of the functional relationship of three variables: demand, supply, and price. These relationships may be studied in conditions of competition, of monopoly or of public regulation of some of the quantities involved. Even the most individualist society interferes with the demand, the supply and the price of some things, and such interference is simply an alteration of the *data* of the economic problem. In totalitarian countries the area of that interference is greatly extended, but the interplay of the forces of demand and supply working through the price mechanism continues to operate. The laws of physiology are not suspended because a man is in a strait-waistcoat.

On the financial side of German rearmament, Dr. Schacht put into operation a principle with which English economists are quite

familiar, namely that, as long as the factors of production are not fully employed, public expenditure can be financed by borrowing without the appearance of the symptoms of inflation. Such borrowing however imposes strains on the budget and on the balance of payments, and demands for its continuance two conditions: a gradually expanding national income and taxable capacity resulting from the expenditure of the borrowed money and a certain degree of exchange control. As soon as a condition of full employment is reached, further borrowing will produce an inflationary rise of prices; and, assuming that the public expenditure is continued, recourse must be had to increased taxation, to the rationing of private demand, to the requisition of supplies and to the strict control of private investment. The average German dreads inflation more than any other evil, and watches the price index numbers as anxiously as the consumptive watches his thermometer. In spite of Dr. Schacht's retirement, inflation has, so far, been avoided in conditions of full employment; the external value of the mark has been preserved by means of exchange control, while, internally, high taxation has replaced public borrowing, and prices and the rate of interest have been kept very stable.

The success of Dr. Schacht's policy depended upon the presence in Germany of certain conditions not to be found to the same degree in other countries. The aim of economic policy, preparation for war (*wehrwirthschaft*), was well defined, the nation had a tradition of discipline and was in a mood to respond to sacrifices, the administrative services were staffed by men trained in economic theory, and, finally, the exchange control was effective because of the lack of supplies of foreign exchange in private hands. Germany is a debtor country, and it is easier to implement a policy of economic planning in a debtor than in a creditor country. The very shortage of external funds makes the effective administration of the exchange control a matter of first class national importance, and the existence of an effective exchange control facilitates the regulation of internal investment, consumption and prices. It is only the creditor countries that can for long continue to survive with unbalanced budgets and with an unbalanced international account, and it is in these countries, especially when universal suffrage renders the politicians dependent upon their popularity with a majority of the people, that the opportunity and the temptation are greatest for a series of costly blunders based on the fallacy that crude slapdash intervention is the same thing as economic planning. Dr. Schacht will go down to history as the man who harboured and increased the resources of his country in a time of great national crisis by dint of the application of those well tested principles of economic science which cannot be defied with impunity.

G. O'B.

History

IRLAND. Die Insel der Heiligen und Rebellen. By Robert Bauer. Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag. 1938. M. 7.80.

EIRE. Histoire d'Irlande. By Charles M. Garnier. Paris: Aubier. 1939. 25 fr.

GREEN BANNERS. The Story of the Irish Struggle. By R. M. Fox. London: Secker and Warburg. 1938. 12s. 6d. net.

IRISH MITCHEL: A Biography. By Seamus MacCall. London: Nelson. 1938. 12s. 6d. net.

THE past year has seen the appearance of an unusual number of books about Ireland, and it is perhaps a satisfaction to know that other nations besides ourselves are sufficiently interested in us to pay for information concerning our past history and present politics. Neither the first nor the second of the books on the above list claims to be any more than a convenient summary, but both are written with a kind of zestful sympathy which should make them enjoyable to Irish readers. Naturally their attitude towards us is not exactly the same. Herr Bauer brings to his study of Ireland a hard realism characteristic of the new Germany. His chapter-headings, which read like cinema-captions, are almost the best thing in his book; like his title, they tell a good deal in a few words about his point of view. None of them is better or more typical than the one which describes the movement for independence under Grattan: *Die Illusion der Protestanten*, and it is followed by a chapter on Ninety-eight headed: *Die Rebellion der Protestanten*, a title which gives drastic if rather one-sided expression to the essential truth. The last words of this chapter show a similar clarity, refreshing in spite of its slightly angular cocksureness: "England—and therein lies the historical importance of the Protestant Rebellion—will in future have to deal, no longer with Irish Catholics, but with Catholic Irish. Ireland, once the Island of Saints, will now become finally the Island of Rebels."

Herr Bauer's last chapter gives us an example of a new German "science" applied to our problems. Headed "Das Gebot des Raumes," it shows us, with an impressive map of our position in the British defence system, how our future is determined for us by political geography. On the whole the comparative pessimism of the German writer contrasts strongly with the warm sympathy of the Frenchman. M. Garnier's study, if it comes to less epigrammatic and sensational conclusions, is based on a much wider range of materials than is Herr Bauer's, and gives a valuable brief account of Ireland's troubled evolution particularly in regard to the land system and the religious question. On the earlier period of our history both books are too summary to be effective, and many of M. Garnier's statements as to

he origin and development of the native race and social system require rastic correction. Thus he speaks as if the pre-Celtic inhabitants f Ireland were called *Scotti*, imagines that Gaelic was the language f pre-Roman Gaul, and confuses St. Columba with St. Columbanus. One would like to know his authority for the suggestion that the candinavian invaders included Saxons "who had escaped with ifficulty from extermination by Charlemagne." His account of the odern period is much more satisfactory, though here also the reader s given pause by such statements as one on p. 263, that the most success- ul Maynooth students go every year to complete their studies at aris, Salamanca, and Rome. It would be ungracious, however, to sist too much on such perhaps inevitable errors—though Herr Bauer ould not have confused the Custom House in one of his illustrations ith the old Houses of Parliament—and we can only hope that both ooks will introduce many continental readers to the study of our emote and rather tangled history.

Green Banners is a very popular account of the various modern rish nationalist movements, with 1916 as its central theme. It need ardly be said that the time has not yet come for a really objective istory of so recent a period. Mr. Fox is not quite so rash in his udgments as Mr. Le Roux, whose strangely partisan effusions he uotes as authoritative, but he is far from being objective. Indeed is not unfair to say that he does not wish to be. His book is written ery much from a left-wing standpoint; he exaggerates, as many riters have done, the alleged economic element in the story of the ebellion and assigns a preponderant rôle to the Citizen Army, and is sympathies are very clearly with the side that went against the reaty. It is a curious instance of this bias that he mentions the eath of Collins only very incidentally, while devoting a paragraph o that of Cathal Brugha. For him, the Irish revolution is not ended ith political freedom; it must have a sort of Marxist epilogue, which f course is called democratic.

As a serious piece of biography, *Irish Mitchel* does not call for any ery lengthy discussion. It will hardly stand comparison with either eán Ó Faoláin's or Frank O'Connor's contributions to the same eries. Mitchel, who wrote so much of his own life, is perhaps not a ery easy subject, for he rises up in competition with his biographer n every page. Mr. McCall's book is written with considerable fluency nd assurance, rather after the manner of a novelist, but this is just he manner that comes off least well in comparison with the *Jail ournal*. The reader who seeks a critical or historical evaluation of Mitchel's career, an impartial judgment on his quarrels with his olleagues, or even a study of his very special affinities as an English stylist, will not find much to his taste in these pages, where Mitchel's

point of view is everywhere—and most of all in the case of O'Connell—taken as the only sound one. It is perhaps useful to have a connected account of Mitchel's long, varied, and devoted career, but even this merit in the book is partly offset by an excess of romantic reconstruction. M. T.

SAINT AUGUSTIN ET LA FIN DE LA CULTURE ANTIQUE. Par Henri-Irénée Marrou. (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome). Paris : Boccard. 1939. 80 fr.

SAINT AUGUSTINE makes an immensely strong appeal to the modern mind, and French critics have been notably active in the analysis of Augustinian thought during the past twenty years. As the Great War was coming to an end, a French study by M. Alfaric (*L'Evolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin*, 1918) opened an instructive controversy as to the part that Neo-Platonist philosophy had played in the conversion of the great doctor of the Western Church. A French Jesuit, Père C. Boyer, made perhaps the finest contribution to that discussion in his thesis : *Christianisme et Néo-Platonisme dans la formation de Saint Augustin* (1920). A few years later M. Gilson published his remarkable *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustin* (1929), and told us all in his preface how keen had been the response of young American students at Harvard to his classes on Augustinian thought. There has been no lack of books about the great doctor since then ; and we may note in passing a very useful series of studies on Augustine as orator and catechist that have appeared in Washington, thanks to the inspiring teaching of Professor Roy Deferrari. M. Marrou's thesis is a more elaborate work of the same type. It marks a real advance in our knowledge of the young *rhetor* of Madaura and Carthage, who became in due course Saint Ambrose's greatest convert.

Strictly speaking, M. Marrou's subject is not Augustine himself, but the decadent culture of the late Roman Empire which forms the historical background of Augustine's thought. How far can we reconstruct a typical portrait of the educated man whom Augustine knew as he grew to manhood in Africa, Rome and Milan ? To answer that question, M. Marrou has made a most careful analysis of Augustine's extant writings—not all of them, indeed (who has the courage to attempt that task ?), but a very large number of the more important treatises, sermons and letters. It is not merely a question of noting the passages in which Augustine gives us his views on liberal education, or of summarising the opinions which he puts forward in his *De Doctrina Christiana* and *De Catechizandis Rudibus*. Can we go further ? Can we isolate from the great mass of his writings those elements which he owed, not to his personal genius nor to his religious experience, but simply to the decadent pagan world in which he was born and

ducated ? M. Marrou's book is long (more than six hundred pages), nd it does not always make easy reading. But, at the end of his inquiry, e may fairly claim that the effort was worth making. We do indeed t a clearer view, not only of decadent Graeco-Roman culture but also nd this is surely more important) of Augustine's own thought.

A good deal of M. Marrou's work is taken up with the detailed gument that Augustine's own literary and scholastic culture is very uch less extensive than might be gathered from his ambitious definition the *artes liberales*. He was, if ever a man was, the typical product the Latin schools of rhetoric. His knowledge of Greek literature slight ; his erudition suggests the *mirabilia* of medieval preachers nd moralists ; his acquaintance with arithmetic and geometry seems ver to have gone further than familiarity with the elements of these iences ; his passion for the science of numbers and his interest in usic are typical of the decadent *littérateur* who has an exaggerated nse of the value of rhythm and metre, in prose and verse ; his mastery dialectics does not carry with it a true grasp of all that the Greek hilosophers meant by that name. The place which he assigns to philo- phy in his scheme of education, leading the soul from things material nd carnal to the immaterial enjoyment of true happiness : this also he as learned from the Greek philosophers, whose practical influence as not yet dead in the Roman Empire.

But, when we contrast Augustine's writings with contemporary mples of Latin literature, which he had once accepted as models, e soon become aware of the debt that Christian thought owes to this ost sincere of converts. True it is that Augustine never ceased to e a *rhetor* in his too facile style ; but what sincerity he has contrived convey through the medium of so many tricks of style and figures of peech ! One of the most interesting passages in M. Marrou's volume iscusses the poetical element in Augustine's free use of symbol and nalogy in his interpretation of the Scriptures. How far was he playing ith words and symbols for the sheer joy of his art ? How far was he eking to convey religious truth through these symbolic fancies ? gain, M. Marrou is surely right in his contention that the immensely ng and tedious dialectical dicussions of the *Contra Academicos* and the *De Ordine* are not there simply because Augustine loved idle argument, ut because he was genuinely convinced that man's soul, with its strong ndency to the carnal and material, needs to be accustomed by an *exercitatio animi* to familiarity with ideas and concepts that are essen- ally immaterial. M. Marrou's application of this theory to the last x books of *De Trinitate* is one of the most helpful sections of his work.

There are many other points that might be raised—for M. Marrou ike Augustine himself) finds it hard to resist a digression, and some f his most illuminating comments are to be found in his footnotes

(of which, to be frank, there are far too many). He sees Augustine, partly as the very human and sincere *rhetor* who is struggling to free himself from old associations and old concepts; partly as the thinker and writer, who (like Constantine in politics) stands midway between the Ancient and the New: the prophet and the creator of Europe's *Medium Aevum*, whose contacts with the thought and style of Dante are numerous and noteworthy. A. G.

POLAND: KEY TO EUROPE. By Raymond Leslie Buell, M.A., Ph.D. London: Jonathan Cape. 1939. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is the most recent work on Poland: in point of fact, it deals with such recent matter as the Silesian acquisitions in the December of last year. For this reason alone the book would be valuable—even if its inherent excellence was less than is actually the case: it is quite an outstanding book. The author is an American Professor who spent a considerable part of last year in Poland. In his Preface he says that his intention in writing the book was "to survey and analyse the problems of modern Poland in a sympathetic but scientific spirit." Professor Buell is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has succeeded in his aim.

Poland: Key to Europe can fairly be described as a work of reference in an unusually readable form. It consists of some twelve chapters following a singularly logical system of arrangement: 'The Importance of Poland'; 'Lessons from the Past'; 'The Resurrection of a State'; 'The Political System'; 'The Economic Dilemma'; and so on. Three chapters, somewhat shorter than the others (which average thirty pages each), are devoted to the Minorities in the Polish body politic—the Germans, the Ukrainians and the Jews. The final chapter deals with Foreign Policy. As beseems a work of reference, the treatment of each aspect is completely objective.

Like every work of reference, however, the present volume must be read in relation to later events. Even since it was published a few months ago, events have moved—and they are still moving. Thus, the statement on page 331, "Although the Vienna award of November 2 gave Hungary a part of Ruthenia, it did not establish a common Polish-Hungarian frontier," is no longer accurate. On the other hand, while simple day-to-day happenings have already outstripped some of the facts set forth in Professor Buell's book, the author is remarkably up-to-date as regards the *broader* problems treated. For example, he devotes much of his eighth chapter to the question—the very practical question—of *colonies* for Poland. And naturally, as an American, he deals with Polish-American relations. It is safe to say that no European author would have dealt so practically with these two particular questions.

Some readers may, under present conditions, think bad of Professor uell for saying relatively very little about the strategical situation Poland. The Professor probably decided that, not being a professional ldier, he would keep closely to what he was really an authority on. ven so, such rare allusions as he does make to the military aspect the matter are very sound in their general tenor.

Altogether, this is so admirable a book that, like the Athenian ho voted against Aristeides, it is a relief to be able to find some ult. There is a very complete ten-page index. But, on coming to sciuszko therein, we find his Christian name set down as Joseph—stead of Tadeusz! J. J. O'C.

HE LONDONDERRY PLANTATION, 1609-41. By T. W. Moody, Lecturer in History in the Queen's University of Belfast. Belfast: William Mullan. 1939. 15s.

OCTOR MOODY'S book is a veritable storehouse of minute information the subject of the London Company's plantations in Ulster from s beginning in 1609 to the insurrection of 1641. He has spared no ains in the gathering and the marshalling of his facts and has thrown uch light on an interesting subject which previously had never been udied in detail.

From the facts given, certain conclusions may be drawn, which re in conflict with views hitherto held, but which are amply borne ut by evidence from authorities and from statistics. Thus, it is shown nat the London Companies, or rather the Irish Society, which was the entral body formed to deal with the question—so far from being ager to take over the portion of the Ulster confiscated lands offered to it y the Government of James I, was extremely reluctant to do so, and nly consented under pressure and in consequence of a certain amount f misrepresentation on the part of the Government agents as to the ondition of the property and as to the terms of the proposed bargain.

The event showed that this hesitation was justified; for, though ome individuals amassed considerable fortunes (mostly by means uestionable or positively dishonest), yet the Society in its corporate apacity was not able even to reimburse itself for the huge sum, about 120,000 (equivalent to about a million according to our present value f money), which had been expended on the plantation, partly by the entral body from its own funds and partly from levies made by it n the individual companies. In spite of this, it was held up to obloquy n the Star Chamber trial of 1635, and was condemned to a fine of £70,000 the largest apparently ever inflicted by that tribunal) and to the orfeiture of its charter.

The great question at issue between the Society and the government vas, almost from the beginning, the permitting of "native" tenants

to take holdings on lands assigned to the former. According to the regulations laid down in regard to the Ulster Plantation in general and embodied in the "Articles" of 1610, the Undertakers were to receive none but English or Scotch tenants. The London Society, however, held that they were not ordinary Undertakers and so were not bound by these articles, but only by a special agreement made with them, in which agreement there was no mention of any restrictions regarding the nationality of tenants. The validity of this contention was not admitted by the judges in the trial of 1635, and it must be confessed that the evidence by which the advocates of the Society endeavoured to support it was almost wholly negative. On the other hand, it was certain that other Undertakers had acted in the same way in admitting "native" tenants and had done so with impunity. But then these men were not marks for a £70,000 fine, and Charles I badly needed money.

In truth, if there were any guilt involved, the direct offenders were not the Irish Society, which (as Dr. Moody points out) was merely a committee of the London Council appointed by that body to administer the Ulster lands, but rather the mercantile companies amongst whom these lands were divided. The division was made into twelve "proportions." Each of these was assigned to a certain number of companies according to the supposed ability of each of them to bear their quotas of the aggregate expense. The usual arrangement was that one of the chief and wealthier companies should be joined with several lesser ones. Thus, the Goldsmiths had for associates the Cordwainers, Paperstainers and Armourers; while the Vintners, evidently considered the poorest of the chief companies, had nine associates. The Merchant Tailors and the Grocers were reckoned so rich that each had a proportion to itself.

About the most surprising of the many surprising features of the actual state of affairs, as it appeared in the investigation of 1635, was this: that, whereas the amount of land assigned originally to the Irish Society was but 40,000 acres, the extent in their possession was 508,000 acres. None of the reasons assigned for this enormous discrepancy—such as the carelessness of surveyors, the exclusion of "waste" lands from the reckoning, the dishonesty which caused fertile lands to be reckoned as "waste," the varying size in different districts of the balliboe (the measure on which the reckoning was founded), etc.—seem sufficient even taken together to account for it.

The companies in most cases did not concern themselves with the terms of the articles of 1610, either in regard to the taking of "native" tenants or in the limitation of the extent of the land to be assigned to one individual. This was not, it was laid down, to exceed 2,000 acres. The companies found, as did the Irish landlords of a later century, that

small holdings were troublesome to manage; so they mostly divided their proportions amongst a few "farmers," who in their turn sublet to tenant occupiers. Generally the Irish were found more willing to submit to hard conditions than were the British; and so they often were preferred. Sir Thomas Phillips reported that, in 1621, the Ironmongers had on their lands 131 adult male natives as against 65 British.

A few of the statements made by Dr. Moody in his opening chapter we venture to question. We doubt, moreover, whether the attitude which he at least implies towards Hugh O'Neill and his adherents would meet with the approbation of most Irish readers. Throughout he speaks of them as "rebels," and the word carries with it an idea of strong condemnation. Whether, even technically, they can be so described is doubtful, since Ulster had never been wholly and had then long ceased practically at all to be under English domination. But, at any rate, the majority of the Irishmen of the present day would not be prepared to condemn the rising of the two Hughs against Elizabeth's government.

On page 29 we are told of the declaration published by James I in 1607, stating that the cause of the flight of O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell and the rest from Ireland a short time previously was their consciousness of guilt in having conspired against the king with foreign powers. The statement of their grievances afterwards issued by the exiled earls is also mentioned. "Objective truth need not be sought in these documents," says our author. But it would surely have been but fair to mention that, while no proof of the alleged conspiracy was given by the king, the earls furnished in their statement (to which James did not, as far as we know, reply) "chapter and verse" regarding the grievances of which they complained.

The statement made (page 45) that in the early seventeenth century the native inhabitants of Ulster had no fenced fields contradicts Fynes Moryson, who says that, when passing through parts of the country to which the English had never before penetrated, he was surprised to find the fields so well fenced.

On page 46 some remarks are made on the foreign trade of (Celtic) Ireland. In Tudor times, it is said, this consisted mainly or entirely in the export of salmon, hides, horses and linen yarn—all, be it noted, what may be described as raw products. But at this period, and indeed a couple of centuries earlier, Irish serges and linens were known and prized on the continent of Europe. A thick woollen material known as "rug" and apparently used for bed coverings, floor-mats and warm mantles, was frequently sent by English officials stationed in Ireland as presents to their English friends.

Several excellent maps, mostly contemporary, are reproduced in Dr. Moody's book. M. T. H.

ULSTER AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1939. *Help or Hindrance?* By Henry Harrison. Dublin: Browne and Nolan; London: Robert Hale. 1939. 10s. 6d. net.

RECENT events, which would perhaps have rendered impossible the writing of this book, have not made the task of reviewing it any the easier. It is a sequel to Captain Harrison's *Ireland and the British Empire*, written two years ago—before the London Agreement. Just as in the previous book its author's aim was to show the advantages to Great Britain of peace with Ireland, so here he sets out to demonstrate that Partition is a cause of loss to the British Treasury and that its continuance will involve the Empire in manifold dangers. The first of these objects is fairly easily achieved: all it really requires is a few columns of figures, which show that for all except two of the years since 1930 there has been a steady balance, in the accounts between the two governments, against Great Britain and in favour of Belfast. From the Irish point of view, unfortunately, it seems to be hardly worth while to harp very much on this obvious and easily-ascertained fact.

Captain Harrison makes, we think, no reference at all to the great financial crisis of 1929; yet the merest glance at his figures would suggest that this played a bigger part in altering the balance of payments than even the notorious loving-kindness towards Northern Ireland of that rather forbidding duenna, the British Treasury. A further suggestion to which he does not advert is the disquieting one that, financially and economically speaking, Northern Ireland is in the circumstances more of a liability than an asset, and that reunion with their unwilling brethren would not conduce at the moment to the financial contentment of Éire's already hard-pressed taxpayers. This tendency to prove too much—from premisses too easily taken for granted—is a fundamental weakness in Captain Harrison's book as a whole.

It becomes glaringly obvious in the case of the second aim of the book, referred to above. In the very first chapter the reader—who, we can assure Captain Harrison, will not be prepared for the shock in all cases in Ireland, not to speak of England—discovers that the basis of the whole argument is to be the official Fianna Fáil version of the dispute about the land annuities and the constitutional questions which were rightly or wrongly made incidental to the economic war. Now whether or not the maxim, *finis coronat opus*, be applicable to this case, it remains true that very many quite intelligent and patriotic Irishmen (again not to speak of Englishmen) cannot bring their intelligences to accept the Fianna Fáil doctrine, even as a matter of history. It becomes therefore a rather unsound basis on which to build up an unanswerable case against Partition. As a result of its

option, a great many perfectly good arguments adduced throughout e book are at least partially deprived of their effect. When the reader ds Captain Harrison, in his search for the causes of the undoubted rtisanship of British Conservative governments towards Northern eland, hinting at more "secret agreements," his distrust, if he be t already a sworn follower of the Taoiseach, will be still further t on edge.

It cannot be said that Captain Harrison's treatment of his main eme—the danger to the British Empire of a partitioned Ireland—either profound or convincing. He does not examine the position h a close eye to real factors, whether political, economic, or military, t merely indulges in a certain amount of vague rhetoric, reminiscent as! that it must be said) of his old opponent, the editor of the *server*, at his most allusive. Metaphors such as "chronic inflamation," "the Achilles' heel," "the Banquo's ghost of murdered sh unity" are perhaps effective for certain purposes, but hardly us any distance when sprinkled freely over a large and rather pensive book. Their too plentiful use, to the exclusion of more id argument, carries with it the danger of making the reader feel at a concoction so highly aerated can have but little substance in make-up. Indeed it would be well if less were said of Ireland's pacity to inflict any very real or serious injury on the British Empire, ich is at least problematical, and more about both the present and ssible future injuries which have an opposite direction. Anyhow hat is needed is argument based upon a real judgment of objective cts, not rhetoric.

This applies with even greater force to Captain Harrison's conclusion. e ends, naturally, with a plea for a better turn in British policy and r a change of heart in Northern Ireland; but here again he is amazingly gue, and one finds it difficult to retain, from a careful reading of s pages, any idea of even a skeleton policy directed either towards estminster or Belfast. He repeats the formula "Ulster must not coerced," and accepts it, but gives us neither an exact analysis what it means to Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. de Valera (and it obably means two very different things) nor a reasoned justification its acceptance, not only by himself but apparently by everybody. gain, in discussing the extent and consequences of the interonnection between Great Britain and Northern Ireland, he hardly verts at all, except in a phrase or two, to its all-important military pect. As regards policy, while undoubtedly the situation is definitely favourable to Irish nationalist aspirations, and the leverage slight, t it remains true that there never was a political problem to which ere was not a political answer. Captain Harrison, having failed to ate the Partition problem in terms either complete or relevant,

naturally fails also to find its solution. His book may perhaps do one service, if it brings home to those engaged in controversy about Partition the strange fact that the question has never yet received a fair, logical, or exhaustive examination from either the British or the Irish side. M. T.

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION. Its Origin and Development. Vol. VI : The Political and Cultural History of Europe since the Reformation. 1,624 pages. 1937. 25s. net. Vol. VII : The Relations of Europe with non-European Peoples. Oxford University Press. 1939. 1,215 pages. 21s. net.

WITHIN a very few years of the passing of that great Irish figure in the cultural and financial spheres of both the United States and of Ireland and England, the collaborators of Edward Eyre have, in May 1939, been able to produce the concluding volume of his great and permanent contribution to the record of European Civilisation as the leading constructive factor in the religious and social history of mankind. The munificence no less than the alert and always progressive mentality of this son of Dublin City, were fully active until the very close of a career that extended to an age nearer to ninety than to eighty years—years of ever fruitful, stimulating, strengthening service. Any notice of his great work and of its enduring worth would assuredly fail in its duty if it did not expressly urge the appositeness not only of a Handbook of these seven comprehensive and masterly volumes, but also some adequate record of Edward Eyre himself as a splendid specimen of the constructive Catholic mind, the Christian man in the modern world.

The title of the sixth volume, published less than two years ago, soon after Mr. Eyre's death, plainly shows that it was by its very nature bound to be varied in type : hence it was markedly unified and strengthened by the extensive opening survey of the entire period since the middle of the seventeenth century carried out by Dom H. M. Leclercq. The contribution of Dr. M. C. D'Arcy, the review of Catholic influence by Abbot Butler, and the survey of European literature by Mr. Desmond MacCarthy were all of distinctive trend and very specific content. It was apposite that, last autumn, in his review of this " next to last " volume of " a really major effort of scholarship and interpretation," the Editor of *The Commonweal*, Philip Burnham, should stress at once " the great variety and the unusually personal character of its sections." Nor could it fail to strike him that the brace of contributions from University College, Dublin—the one on Europe, the other on Ireland—amply exemplified this American finding :—

Both chapters use some of the same material. The article on Education is as provocative and as constructive history, however individualistic, as

anything in the book, and includes a startling and very convincing defense of Cardinal Wolsey, which has immense implications in gaging the causes of the Reformation.

Ably putting Ireland into the centre of European development, Mr. Williams is at times rather hard on the rest of the world. American patriots will react automatically against the statement that 'the American Revolution was mainly directed by an aristocratic caste of slave-holders, whose grip tightened in the twenty years that also saw the consolidation of Imperialism in France,' even when this prepares the way for the contention that 'democratic and civic action did not appear in the modern world till the Irish people organised in 1823-1825.'

That Irish finding on the early history of the United States will be fitly illustrated by the section of the final volume dealing with Negro Slavery in the two Americas, the forty pages of which form but a tenth of the space devoted, in this concluding volume, to issues connected with European activities over the African peoples and handled by a decade of writers. The papers of Douglas Woodruff and of A. H. Atteridge, taken together, are a telling general survey of the preludes to a volume that essentially looks to the future. So, too, does the far too brief contribution of Père Charles on Europe and the Far-East; and so does the finely balanced concluding account of Australian lands, extending almost to a hundred pages. It is from the most competent pen of Dr. Eris Michael O'Brien, foremost among Australian historians, whose excellent volumes so well befit a distinguished graduate of the Schools of History at Louvain and at Dublin.

This necessarily inadequate account of the posthumous volumes which complete Edward Eyre's splendid enterprise, so worthily set out for scholars and students by the Oxford University Press, cannot conclude in more fitting terms than those worded by Philip Burnham of *The Commonweal*, 16 September 1938: "It is to be hoped that the final volume will have the excellences of this one and of those that preceded it. . . . The final success of the work will be judged by the extent to which it can influence the general historical thinking of the public, which is now educated by histories based on a definitely inferior philosophical groundwork." T. C.

THE WHIG PARTY, 1807–1812. By Michael Roberts. London: Macmillan. 1939. 25s. net.

The series of *Studies in Modern History* edited by Professor L. B. Namier of Manchester has set a high standard in detailed and accurate investigation, and Professor Roberts's volume does not fall short in any respect. Devoted as it is to a brief period and to a singularly inglorious subject, it will be best appreciated perhaps by connoisseurs, though the general reader will find much in it to claim attention. Professor Roberts writes with humour and irony, for which indeed he has plentiful scope. The Whig Party, after the death of Fox and the collapse of the "Ministry of All the Talents," presented a pitiful

spectacle of inept leadership, chaotic principles, and lack of public spirit. During its brief period of office from January 1806 to March 1807 it had carried the abolition of the slave trade; but on its next most important item of policy it could make no headway against the senile obstinacy of George III. This was Catholic Emancipation, upon which, while their motives were highly creditable, Grenville and Grey, Fox's successors in the leadership of the coalition, showed themselves remarkably feeble in practice. On the third item, which was the ending of the war with Napoleon, their performance was still worse, and even at this distance of time it is shocking to read of their ignorance as to what was taking place in Europe and of what Professor Roberts does not hesitate to call the "laziness and pusillanimity" of Grey. All that can be said in extenuation of their record is that they had worthy rivals in the perpetrators of the Walcheren expedition.

The causes of this remarkable decline in the standards of English statesmanship were manifold. Pitt and Fox between them had given a coherent direction to the very disparate elements of which the parties were then composed, and their deaths left a terrible vacuum. Political opinions had not yet crystallised, as they were to do in the next generation: one of the most interesting things in this book is the story of the slow changes which produced the beginnings of the Reform movement. The real leaders of the Whig coalition, Grey and Grenville, were remote and aloof aristocrats, who were inclined to put themselves and their families first and the country second. With the more radical among their followers they were continually in open or unavowed disagreement, and the only bridge was the nominal leader of the party, George Ponsonby, ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland, whose achievements in that capacity were anything but distinguished.

Professor Roberts's work falls essentially into three more or less separate studies: on Ireland, the War, and Reform, with one extra chapter on the question of the leadership in the Commons and another on the four crises in which the question of a Whig government assuming power or of a coalition being formed came up. Students of Irish history will naturally be most interested in the first study, which presents the much-discussed Veto question from a fresh angle and illustrates with abundant documentation the embarrassments to which it gave rise. On p. 41 will be found a tantalising piece of uncertain evidence that O'Connell in 1808 supported a suggestion for a Concordat, which was being mooted as an alternative to the Veto pure and simple. The sidelights on the economic and political condition of Ireland are very illuminating, and one feels that a longer study on similar careful and detailed lines would be profitable. Indeed it is

high time that the whole question of the relation between Irish leaders and English Whigs from 1760 onwards should be subjected to close examination. It would contribute to the understanding especially of Grattan's career and to the laying bare of one most important root of modern Irish nationalism, which has remained curiously faithful to its obscure early connections. Mr. Roberts has performed a difficult task with distinction, and his future explorations in Whiggery will be awaited with interest. M. T.

A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By Mark Thomson. Vol. IV (1642–1801). London: Methuen. 1938. 16s. net.

Mr. Thomson's book, the first to appear of the five volumes which are to complete the series to which it belongs, should prove useful to those for whom it is primarily designed—students of English constitutional development. The large scale on which the work has been planned was thought desirable in view of the considerable amount of research work that has not hitherto been brought together in a form readily available to students.

The history of institutions is a fruitful as well as an interesting department of historical studies. This is particularly true of a great instrument of government such as the English Constitution. It represents the evolution of more than thirteen centuries in the sphere of the practice of government. The detailed study of the stages by which it has evolved is not without interest for all who care to understand how governmental agencies do their work, and this is the more true because it has been practical considerations rather than theoretical principles that have given that Constitution its special characteristics and virtues. And with a constitution it is its adaptability to practice rather than its theoretical perfection that counts.

Mr. Thomson's book is a study of the constitutional implications in the facts of English history in the period with which it deals. As such it involves a good deal of interpretation of those facts, perhaps from an angle with which those to whom these facts relate were not always specially concerned. It must be said that the interpretation process seems to involve—under the guise of what is known as Constitutional Conventions—much that can be described as not much better than *hocus pocus*. For example, take Mr. Thomson's account of the Irish Act of Union. In accomplishing it he tells us that "scrupulous respect was shown for the rights of the Irish Parliament." No doubt the conventional forms were carefully observed, two independent legislatures making a treaty which was ratified by both in the prescribed statutory fashion. The *convenances* were not violated, the forms of the best constitutional usage were preserved, and new

precedents were established in case there should be need for them. It reminds one of the propriety with which the public executioner carries out his grim task, careful not to forget the code which regulates the deportment proper to his office. Mr. Thomson, concerned only with constitutional forms, does not consider the ethical aspect of the transactions to lie within his province. Yet one feels that such aloofness on his part does not help the student to a real understanding of this constitutional issue.

A useful feature of the book is its consideration—though somewhat brief—of the history of local administration. The authority of local bodies has, as Bagehot long ago pointed out, been a puzzle to foreign investigators of English constitutional usage. Yet it is a feature of their polity which has served the English people well. In the period the book discusses these bodies were frequently the focus of resistance to encroachments on popular liberty, and it is not altogether so clear that the marked modern tendency to subject such bodies to the central authority is the best recipe for good government. Efficiency in administration may be thus improved, but perhaps at the cost of good citizenship. This tendency is in close affiliation with the totalitarian state, which Englishmen and others profess to abhor. W. J. W.

THE STUART PAPERS AT WINDSOR. By Alistair and Henrietta Taylor. London: John Murray. 1939. 12s. 6d.

THE story of the ill-fated Stuarts has always had a strong attraction for writers and historians, and it will be long before the romance of their fortunes, with its pity and its tragedy, shall lose its appeal. The past few years especially have seen much new material added to the literature of Jacobitism, and of the many contemporary workers in the field not the least distinguished have been Henrietta Taylor and her brother. (The latter died in the midst of his labours a short while ago). Their collaboration has broken much new ground and has given us several new and interesting volumes.

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century the immense mass of papers—letters, petitions, warrants, documents of the most varied kind—belonging to the Stuart kings and princes for more than a hundred years came, after many vicissitudes, into the possession at Rome of Dom James Waters, an Irish Benedictine. They were eventually purchased by the English government, and the first consignment of them arrived in England in 1813. Housed at Windsor Castle, the entire collection, numbering 540 volumes, lay there uncared-for and uncatalogued till some years ago, when the English Historical MSS. Commission began the publication of a certain number. Only a relatively small proportion, however, of the immense mass of papers appears in the seven stout tomes issued by the Commission.

Miss Taylor in *The Stuart Papers at Windsor* now continues on a small scale the work begun by the Commission and gives in this volume a selection of the letters from 1719 onwards. Though, as the author claims, these throw new light on one aspect at least of the eighteenth century, they are mostly not of very special interest to the ordinary reader. Some of them reveal the bickerings and jealousies of the Jacobite exiles on the continent, others show Prince Charles Edward a vagrant throughout Europe, while others still give a vivid picture of the broken-hearted James the Third at Rome watching with a pang the gradual eclipse of all his hopes for the restoration of his house. The figures of many Irish Jacobites flit continually across the pages of Miss Taylor's book—Daniel O'Brien (Lord Lismore), the agent in Paris of the Stuarts, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Antony Walsh of Nantes who accompanied Charles Edward to Scotland, Colonel Richard Warren who, facing many perils, brought him back safely to France after the debacle at Culloden, Waters the Jacobite bankers, Colonel John O'Sullivan the renowned swordsman, and many others.

The book, which is finely illustrated with some interesting portraits of Jacobite notabilities, should appeal to all students of Jacobite history. R. H.

Mysticism

FENELON ET LA MYSTIQUE DU PUR AMOUR. Par Gabriel Joppin. Paris : Beauchesne. 1938. 55 fr.

UNE QUERELLE AUTOUR DE L'AMOUR PUR. Jean Pierre Camus, Evêque de Belley. Par Gabriel Joppin. Paris : Beauchesne. 1938. 25 fr.

Death prevented the Abbé Bremond from dealing with the Bossuet-Fénelon controversy. Père Joppin has now endeavoured to fill up the gap as far as erudition goes. These two volumes are invaluable to the student and will save an immense amount of labour. Père Joppin has got together and summarised nearly all the writings relevant, and his industry is beyond praise. He has written a great history of the question. Of course he is not a literary artist of the calibre of the Abbé Bremond, and his angle of view is rather different.

When the Eagle of Meaux flew over Carmel, he started a panic which still survives. There is a rather bitter irony in the fact that the highest issues in spirituality should be confused by the discussions of two great prelates, two great writers, who were not exactly canonizable saints—and who moreover had axes to grind. Bossuet was the " last Father of the Church," and Fénelon perhaps was kept awake by the laurels of Richelieu. We are very far from St. Francis de Sales and St. Vincent de Paul. But they were splendid writers. It could not be said of them : " Quoniam non habeo litteraturam." If Fénelon

was condemned for his views on Quietism, Bossuet would certainly be now condemned for his Gallicanism. And the amusing feature of their strife was that both were made fools of by that spiritual minx, Madame Guyon, who held Fénelon to the last and almost swindled Bossuet. She was the Helen of Troy who roused such vast and bitter zeal between two very able and worthy prelates. Her methods of devotion and her *bona fides* formed the human issue, the very human issue, of a theological controversy which hurt piety and charity, made Quietism a choice term of opprobrium and mysticism a bogey for the average director of consciences. The shadow of the Eagle of Meaux darkened Carmel!

In any type of prayer, that is really prayer, we find three elements in varying degrees of dosage: the prayer of the lips, the prayer of the mind, and the prayer of the heart. The Christian talks to God, thinks of God, and attends to God. In this world we cannot have a vocal prayer that is really prayer, and not parroting, without some discursive thought (which is meditation) and some attention to God (which is contemplation). Nor could we meditate without some inchoate speech, within our minds if not on our tongues; nor is contemplation so uniform as to exclude the other two elements. We cannot have the three elements absolutely pure and apart; but we can stress, if God gives us the grace, any one of them. Vocal prayer has been marvellously elaborated in the Divine Office and meditation in the system of the *Spiritual Exercises*. But while voice and mind can be humanly trained and drilled, the apex of the spirit, the seat of contemplation, is a forbidden city, a garden enclosed. True, the grace of God is just as necessary for vocal prayer and meditation as for contemplation, but human industry can do more in these so-called lower stages. It was the attempt to systematize contemplation, as the meditation had been systematized, that was the root of the Quietist evil. Because the great mystics, like St. John of the Cross, had made use of negative methods to secure quiet, *or rather make quiet secure*, the systematizers thought to force contemplation through negation. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* It was a dangerous Nirvana to try for, because these passivities breed all the psychoses.

Fénelon was on a dangerous slope, spiritually as well as politically, when he became the disciple of the astute Madame Guyon. How did she tie him to her chariot wheels? Did she cure him, by her restful methods, of some nervous trouble or some spiritual scruple? We have no record; but only some such cure will account for her enduring influence on the Archbishop of Cambrai. He believed in her to the very end. She was a woman of very extraordinary social talents and seems to have possessed that sinister talent of automatic writing. Genius or spiritism or both?

In the marvels of Bossuet's eloquence we forget that he was a man of the middle class and so, apart from his genius, of small account at Louis XIV's court. Also he was more than a trifle rough and uncouth compared with his aristocratic rival. As our English friends would say he was not quite a gentleman. Fénelon had all the fine feelings tempered by the astute prudence of the courtier. But his refusal to throw over his Egeria or Priscilla, as Bossuet called her, was not, I think, wholly due to his sense of honour or personal dignity, but came from a real belief in her system. It had worked in his case. That, of course, is only an inference, but I think it is probable. Psychic experiments, if successful, have an astounding power of conviction. Fénelon was caught. Then the theory of " Pure Love," the love of God which, in the most absolute sense, sought no reward, appealed to a noble's sense of honour, to the cultured soul's refinement. Then the gift of eloquence came to embroider, to concoct further refinements which shocked the horse sense of Bossuet, who was nearer to the common Christian looking for a substantial reward for virtue. There was more than a touch of the *précieuse* about the devotions of Fénelon, Madame Guyon and the whole " brotherhood of pure love."

Behind the eloquence of Meaux and the refinement of Cambrai we can dimly see the majestic figure of the Roi Soleil and the smug Madame de Maintenon. One wonders if Huysmans was quite wrong when he spoke of the spirituality of lackeys in reference to these two great men ?

JOHN HOWLEY

Art of Poetry

THE POET'S DEFENCE. By J. Bronowski. Cambridge University Press. 1939. Pp. 258. 7s. 6d.

THIS is not another readable book about poetry with mild novelties and no shocks. Dr. Bronowski does not come to our poetic appreciation like the physician with a good bedside manner, but as a surgeon, relentless to nerve and bone. Only, this not a kill or cure job, and the operator can make mistakes and still do us good.

" The mind of man has a knowledge of truth beyond the near-truths of science and society. I believe that poetry tells this truth." Sidney, Jonson and Dryden tell it, we find ; Wordsworth told it for a time ; the best men since have not told it, they have been mock-idealists and pseudo-poets.

The great point about poetry, Dr. Bronowski holds, is that it is an ideal set above and against the senses and worldly life. This is the higher Nature, above actuality, which the poet " imitates " in that he grows aware of it. So far as the poet represents *human nature*, it should not be by psychological imitation of this or that man's nature,

nor even of the nature of this or that kind of man; it should be the root nature which is the source of all actual natures and transcends them all. Thus Jonson does not err in making his "humours," though modern critics find them inhuman and psychologically monstrous. They are more truly poetical than mere life-like characters; they are so many single strands of the mind—not those indeed which psychology unravels from it, but those which ethics finds in it.

Dr. Bronowski chooses as the landmarks in his account of the glory and decline of English poetry the poets who have been also critics—on the good ground that criticism written long ago is very hard to understand, so much have the senses of terms changed, but least hard in the poet-critics, since their practice shows what they mean. Thus he is enabled to illuminate such key-words as Virtue, Knowledge, Imitation, Wit, Judgment, Nature.

The essays, even apart from the main thesis, are excellent criticisms of the individual poets. Those on Sidney and Dryden (containing some fine pages on Jonson) are criticism of the best sort. Shelley is attacked more cogently, I think, than by almost anybody yet. He is called an idealist, we learn, because he spoke so often of higher ends and had vague plans for good. But pity and hope for man are no ideal. Shelley saw none but social evils. He aimed no higher than a perfecting, by political reform and by science, of the actual world; his ideal was worldly, that is, it was none at all.

Wordsworth began as an idealist, not of mind but of passion. Perilously, he equated the root or ideal passion with that which the world of eye and ear early moved in him; this, and the contagion of Coleridge's poetic hedonism, soon left him no ideal at all. Coleridge was no idealist. His admiration was for mere living, without regard to quality. He made pleasure the end of poetry; his criticism tells us nothing of poetry, though much about the psychology of poetic pleasure.

After Coleridge, three poets or pseudo-poets remain to be studied. "More than any poets since Blake they held strongly to poetry as they understood it. Nevertheless Swinburne was a disorderly and a wasted poet, and Housman was so thin and silly that he can hardly be called a poet. Yeats is the best poet of the three, and the best poet of a hundred years." In Swinburne is seen the development of Coleridge's false valuation of mere living. "The act of living, restless generation and becoming, is the last worth. But this act must be careless, mindless, sexual. It must not bear upon life as we know it. It must do no more than hope for a golden chaos." Interestingly, but in a way not easy to summarize, Dr. Bronowski shows Yeats as a paradox, an anti-idealist who was strong enough to stand against poetry and be a poet in its despite.

I have gained much from this book, and I think most readers of poetry will. Only, we must struggle against these combative books, which prove a lot that is worth while but also prove too much, if we are not to lose more than gain. I jot down some of my objections. First, a particular point. The Coleridge chapter is one where rapid and inexact judgment will be serious, because it governs all that follows. There (p. 175) Coleridge is represented as answering Wordsworth's question, what rule can a poet follow if he rejects that of realistic imitation ? by saying : let him obey *good sense* and *taste*. That would stultify Coleridge. But it is not really his answer. Coleridge is saying first what rule of thumb a poet can use, if he must have one if he distrusts his inspiration in detail. But he goes on to say that no rule will create for the poet, but only his imagination which is a law unto itself. And to declare that the source of poetry is the *all in each* of human nature, which surely is just the ideal Nature Dr. Bronowski finds in Dryden.

More generally. Dr. Bronowski's leading thought is that the poet " imitates " a higher, ideal Nature of which he somehow becomes aware. Dr. Bronowski has phrasings of his own for this, which are striking and well focussed ; but it must be said that he reiterates it where he might have done better to give more illustrations and consider wider bearings. Isolation tends to distort even a valuable idea. Sidney and Dryden as representatives of right poetry, Shelley, Swinburne, Housman, Yeats representing what has come since, are they enough to prove the working of a general theory ? How does it fit Shakespeare, Milton and above all Keats, to whose claim to be the greatest post-Coleridgean poet Dr. Bronowski's attitude is left unsatisfyingly vague ? What of Keats's Letters ? If Dr. Bronowski had gone a little into philosophy and theology, it would have simplified and at the same time enriched his account of the decline of idealism and the growing worship of man and the world. And what is said of the meaning of *Nature* in Jonson and Dryden would gain cogency by reference to the scholastic use of the word. Lastly, the assumption that a concern with the life of men and society is anti-poetical is open to argument. " I am a materialist in politics as I am in science and in all social life. Because all social living is material living, and anyone who tries to dress it with ideals is only the cover for someone who will ask us to go hungry." But Burke said of society : " It is not a partnership subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science ; a partnership in all art ; a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection." And Dr. Courthope's history of English poetry as a participation in that partnership is surely not the wholly misconceived work that Dr. Bronowski's views would make it. J. J. H.

Philosophy

APPROACH TO PHILOSOPHY. By D. J. B. Hawkins. London: Sands. 1938. 5s.

TRAITÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE. I *Logique, Cosmologie.* By Régis Jolivet. Lyon-Paris: Emmanuel Vitte. 1939. 40 frs.

COSMOLOGY. By Paul J. Glenn, Ph.D., S.T.D. London: B. Herder. 1939. 10s.

IN philosophical institutes a greater importance is being given to a propaedeutic course which is meant to make the approach to this subject more gradual. Generally the introduction is of a historical nature—and consists of a survey of the whole course of philosophical thought, leading naturally to a definition of philosophy and to an attempt to indicate the special spirit and aim of the study. Dr. Hawkins' introduction is not of this kind; it is psychological and not at all historical. He holds that philosophy must not be separated from personal experience; that it should spring from it and that it should be the ultimate explanation of it. That is not the view of the chief classical philosophers of modern times; and hence we have *a priori*, arbitrary beginnings, which issue out in curious systems which touch life and experience at no point. In this valuable and original little book, Dr. Hawkins shows how the *terminus a quo* of philosophy must be the primal experience of the individual; and he submits this experience—this primitive stream of consciousness—to a fine and firm analysis, and shows how all the elements of a full and balanced system are contained in it and how the solutions of the chief problems are suggested clearly—if only the primitive data are respected and not distorted by prejudice.

Descartes began with this *point de départ*, but an undue emphasis on one element led him into subjectivism; an undue emphasis on the objective element in this primitive experience has led whole schools in the direction of materialism. This approach to philosophy shows what a number of pseudo-problems and absurd systems would have been avoided if only a true beginning had been made. It shows also the satisfying nature of the traditional Scholastic philosophy, which starts from human experience, analyses it, distinguishes its implications and gives its complete explanation.

M. Régis Jolivet is a distinguished scholastic philosopher; and his published work no less than his position as *doyen* of the philosophic school of the *Facultés Catholiques* of Lyons are a guarantee of the worth of his new work. This is the first volume of a *Traité de Philosophie* which is to be followed by three others. The work is meant for schools, seminaries and universities. There is a spate of such *cours* being published in French at the present time. There must be a market for them; and hence they must be an indication

of the extent to which philosophy enters into education—especially secondary—in France. This first present volume deals with logic and cosmology; which shows that M. Jolivet approves of a more reasonable order of approach to philosophy than that adopted in the Catholic schools. For pedagogical reasons he would rightly have logic, cosmology and psychology treated before ontology. This first volume is worthy of high praise for its clarity, its precise and full doctrine, its comprehensive scope. The treatise on methodology is very thorough and would seem to be beyond the scope of a school text. The treatise on cosmology is deserving of special praise. M. Jolivet is acquainted with the results and tendencies of modern science; he examines the scholastic positions independently and critically, and shows their vitality and their adaptibility to the assured findings of modern science.

Dr. Glenn in this volume completes his course of scholastic philosophy. It is marked by the qualities which are found in its predecessors. It is lucid and ordered; it fastens on the salient points of each question and discusses them in a breezy and leisurely manner. He takes account of "the data of modern science," notwithstanding his words in the preface of his book. One of the interesting things of the book is the place where he shows up the ludicrous notion of matter and form held by Mr. Joad and by a professor of philosophy in an American college. If the other principles and tenets of scholastic philosophy are misunderstood so grossly as hylomorphism, it is not to be wondered that philosophy is held in such poor repute outside the Catholic schools. A treatise like Dr. Glenn's—popular, lucid and accurate—should do a good deal towards spreading a true knowledge of the most comprehensive and coherent system of philosophy.

H. K.

Miscellaneous

RETURN TO THE BALTIC. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Constable. 1938. 12s. 6d. net.

RETURNING after forty-three years to the Baltic, Mr. Belloc gives his impressions of Denmark, Sweden and Poland. Like all historians, he is more concerned with the past than the present, and those who expect much information about modern conditions in these countries will be disappointed. The volume does not contain a single statistic. But it is nevertheless a very human document, and those who know Mr. Belloc's style and methods will not be surprised to learn that he pontificates in his most formidable manner on many relevant and irrelevant matters. Modern architecture, the successful business man, the Germans, the bankers—all alike receive castigation from his pen. His denunciations indeed sometimes defeat themselves, as for example

when he describes the Town Hall in Stockholm as devoid of ornament, a tragedy, and a failure. The beautiful drawing of this noble building by Mr. Warre, which appears a few pages later in the book, is a sufficient answer to this criticism. All Mr. Warre's sketches are delightful and greatly add to the value of the book.

But in spite of such overstatements the book abounds in shrewd judgments and reflections on men and things. Copenhagen Mr. Belloc points out is not Denmark, but Stockholm is Sweden. And in a convincing passage he sets out the parallel between the causes of the Reformation in Sweden and England, the main factor in each case being the desire of a few rich men to loot the Church and the corruption of the higher clerics by wealth; the position of the Church in both countries today is something utterly alien and almost forgotten. There is also an interesting comparison between the Danes and the Irish who, in spite of their fundamental differences in conditions and experience, are (he asserts) the two peoples in the whole of Christendom who are most successfully solving the economic problem of our time—namely by the re-establishment of property. In such a result he finds a strong argument for the thesis that the instinct of property is normal to our race.

It is interesting to find Mr. Belloc admitting, when discussing Scandinavian liquor laws, that there has to be control in such matters. His remarks on the destruction of historic monuments, pointed by a reference to the destruction of the monument recording the battle of the Boyne, might well be remembered in Ireland where even quite recently our uneducated iconoclasts have been at work. The resurrection of Poland after the Great War he believes to be one of the half dozen major events of our time, and its recovery for the Church after the Reformation he declares to have been a chief triumph of the Jesuits.

But we are all getting older, and one feels that the Belloc of this book is no longer likely to shoulder a rucksack or grasp a tiller. The old spirit however remains, and he reminds us that the best way to see the world is on foot, for in walking a man's thoughts deal with profound things. Mr. Belloc is himself a good example of this truth.

JOHN J. HORGAN

ANNUAIRE GÉNÉRAL CATHOLIQUE. Edited by Frédéric Gaultier. Paris: Lethielleux. 1938. Pp. lxxviii+1440+426. 150 fr.

WHAT our *Irish Catholic Directory* does for Ireland this *Annuaire* does for France, and something more. The bare enumeration of its contents will give a sufficient notion of their value and usefulness. Beginning with particulars about the Holy See and a tableau of the Catholic hierarchy throughout the world, it then gives a general view of the

French episcopacy and the religious orders of men and women in France. To read this latter very extensive list, who would suppose that the orders and congregations had been expelled by law from France and that these laws are still on the statute book? There follows an interesting section in which full particulars are given of Catholic Action and of those many *oeuvres* in which France is so rich. Only *national* works are given here, local works are given under each diocese.

This part, however, is preliminary. The bulk of the work consists of a directory diocese by diocese and (within the diocese) deanery by deanery, each deanery containing anything up to a score of parishes. For each parish we have the clergy, communities, schools with names of the teachers, institutions, and so forth. Full statistics of the dioceses are given and all its administrative machinery. Noteworthy features are the biographical sketches of the bishops and the historical sketches of their dioceses. No good work, however small, seems to be omitted. There are particulars of every Conference of St. Vincent. de Paul, every parochial or diocesan library, every *patronage*, missionary organisation, sewing class for the poor, hospital refuge, clothing society, etc., etc. And at the end there is an admirable index which enables one to find in a moment just the charitable organisation one is in search of. S. J. B.

Books Received

Acta Pont. Academiae Romnae S. Thomas Aq. et Religionis Catholicae. Anno 1938. (Marietti, L. 15).

Archambault, Paul and Others. Options sur Demain. (Bloud & Gay, 18 fr.).

Attwater, Donald. A Dictionary of the Popes. (Burns Oates, 10/6).

Attwater, Donald. St. John Chrysostom. (Bruce and Browne & Nolan, 8/6).

Benaerst, P. L'Unité allemande 1806–1938. (Colin, 15 fr.).

Bendiscioli Mario. Nazism versus Christianity. (Skeffington, 10/6).

Bendisciolo, Mario. The New Racial Paganism. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

Bergin, Osborn. The Native Irish Grammarian. The Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture. (Milford, 2/–).

Bremond, Andre. Religions of Unbelief. (Bruce, $1.75).

Bertrand, Henri. Le Docteur Schacht. (Gallimard, pp. 222).

Buel, Raymond L. Poland: Key to Europe. (Cape, 10/6).

Butler, H. E. Livy, Book XXX. With introduction, notes and vocabulary. (Methuen, 3/9).

Carr, John. St. Clement Hofbauer. (Sands, 3/6).

Chaigne, Louis. Anthologie de la Renaissance catholique. Tome I: Les Poètes; Tome II: Les Prosateurs. ("Alsatia," 20 fr. each).

Costello, Nuala. John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam. (Talbot Press, 2/6).

Day, Henry. The Love Story of the Little Flower. (Sands, 2/–).

D'Elia, Paschale M. Le Origini dell'Arte cristiana cinese 1583–1640. (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, L 50).

D'Harcourt, Robert. The German Catholics. (Burns Oates, 7/6)

Donleavy, Canice. Sonnets on the Psalms. (Burns Oates, 5/–).

Esser, Gerard. Cosmologia. (Techny: S.V.D. Mission House, $2·00).

Eyre, Edward (*Editor*). European Civilization. Vol. VII (Oxford Press, 21/-).

Fenton, Joseph C. The Theology of Prayer. (Bruce, $2·25)

Fowlie, Wallace. Ernest Psichari. A Study in Religious Conversion. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).

Garnier, Charles M. Eire. Histoire d'Irlande. (Aubier, 25 fr.).

Gavan Duffy, T. The Sower went out; The Voyager; Fantastic Uncle; The Blind Spot. (St. Louis: City House Alumnae, Sacred Heart Convent).

Hallack, Cecily. Out of the Blue. (Browne & Nolan, 2/6).

Hermans, Francis. Propos d'Ascèse. (Bloud & Gay, 15 fr.).

Holden, Vincent F. The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hacker. (Catholic University of America, pp. 260).

Jacques, Jules. L'Humour chez les Saints. (Bloud & Gay, 15 fr.).

James, Father. Christian Philosophy. Essays. (Burns Oates, 6/–).

Juergensmeier, Friedrich. The Mystical Body of Christ. (Coldwell, 12/–).

Kearney, J. Learn of Me. (Burns Oates, 6/–).

Kissane, Edward J. The Book of Job. (Browne & Nolan, 12/6).

Labelle, E. Frederick Ozanam. Message d'un Voyant. (Bloud & Gay, 15 fr.).

Lavaud, Benoit. L'Idée de la Vie religieuse. (Desclée, 12 fr.).

Leclercq, Jacques. Dialogue de l'Homme et de Dieu. (Desclée, pp. 250).

Leonard, William. The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. (Burns Oates, 12/6).

Lynd, Robert. Modern Poetry. An Anthology. (Nelson, 7/6).

Malaise, John. The Following of Christ. Spiritual Diary of Gerard Groote, 1340–1384. Translation. (America Press, pp. 269).

Maritain, Jacques. Quatre Essais sur l'Esprit dans sa Condition charnelle. (Desclée, 20 fr.).

Merry del Val, Cardinal. Memories of Pope Pius X. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

Micklem, Nathaniel. National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church. (Oxford Press, 8/6).

Newfang, Oscar. World Federation. (New York: Barnes & Noble)

Nolle, Lambert. Sunday Instruction Notes. (Burns Oates, 6/–).

Pegis, A. S. Thomas and the Greeks. (Marquette University Press. $1.00).

Restrepo, Felix. Corporativismo. (Bogota: "Revista Javeriana," pp. 94).

Roussy, G. Le Cancer. (Colin, 15 fr.).

Scarfoglio, Carlo. England and the Continent. (Putnam, 7/6).

Shakespeare, William. Les Comédies. Traduction et Notes par Pierre Messiaen. (Desclée, 80 fr.).

Solonevitch, Boris. Dans la tempête bolchevique. (Spes, 20 fr.).

Stanford, W. Bedell. Ambiguity in Greek Literature. (Blackwell, 10/6).

Suares, Andre. Vues sur l'Europe. (Grasset, 21 fr.).

Tillett, Alfred W. Herbert Spencer Betrayed. (King, 4/6).

Weill, Georges. L'Europe du XIX Siècle et l'Idée de Nationalité. (Albin Michel, 45 fr.).

Weill, Raymond. La Phénicie et l'Asie occidentale. (Colin, 15 fr.)

Woodgate, M. V. Père Lacordaire: Leader of Youth. (Sands, 3/6)

Book of Armagh. The Patrician Documents. Facsimile in Collotype. With Introduction by Edward Gwynn. (Published for the Irish MSS. Commission by the Stationery Office).

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